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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1979



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INITIAL FRENCH REACTIONS TO POLISH EVENTS REPORTED

PM171429 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Dec 81 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Government Stresses That the Crisis Must Be Solved by Poles Themselves"]

[Excerpts] Mr Mitterrand is following the situation in Poland "very closely," the Elysee stated Sunday, 13 December. For his part Mr Mauroy thinks that "if the renewal movement were to be smashed it would have serious repercussions." External Relations Minister Cheysson received Polish Ambassador Kulaga Sunday afternoon. In the morning Polish Foreign Minister Czyrek had received French Ambassador Dupuy. The various statements point out that "at present" there is no foreign intervention and that the crisis should be solved by the Poles themselves.

The Quai d'Orsay issued the following communique Sunday afternoon: "The French Government is closely following the serious events which are taking place in Poland. It deplores the series of events which led to the arrest of leaders of the Solidarity trade union movement, which is arousing strong feelings in France and in the world.

"It hopes that Polish leaders of all different leanings will be able to avoid any confrontation and through dialogue find a solution of national reconciliation which will make it possible to rapidly restore public and trade unions freedoms."

Mr Jobert: Double Or Quits

Foreign Trade Minister Jobert, who arrived in the USSR Saturday to take part in the Franco-Soviet Grand Commission meeting in Moscow this Monday and Tuesday, said in Leningrad Sunday that his program would not be altered by events in Poland but that he would discuss them in the political part of his mission. On Tuesday he is to have talks with Soviet Government chief Tikhonov and Foreign Minister Gromyko.

The Warsaw Government's decision is "a matter which primarily concerns the Polish people and their institutions," Mr Jobert said, expressing the view that "in many respects it is a matter of double or quits." The minister hinted that he would not hand over the message which Mr Mitterrand had given him for Mr Brezhnev should he be received by the Soviet head of state. "Messages are documents adapted to circumstances," he pointed out, stressing that Mr Mitterrand's message had been written before the latest events.

CSO: 3100/299

ROMANIANS REVIEW ALBANIAN BOOK ON LEAGUE OF PRIZREN

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Nov 81 pp 2161-2162

[Review of Gazmend Shpulza's book "Gjurmime ne epoken e Rilindjes Kombetare (Research in the Era of the National Renaissance), "8 Nentori" Publishers, Tirana, 1980, 300 p, by Gelcu Maksutovici and Dumitru Polena]

[Text] Many works, studies and articles on the Albanian national renaissance movement (Rilindja Kombetare Shqiptare) were published in Albania and even abroad for the 1978 anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren so that the subject seemed to be nearly exhausted. Just two years following this avalanche of materials, documents and first-hand museum exhibits, a new and interesting monograph has appeared; it is a type of general synthesis of the conclusions included in all the works on this subject, but presenting some original aspects of the social-economic and political-cultural problems of the period and with new archive information which completes everything that has been published in this regard like an apotheosis. The work of researcher Gazmend Shpula, a doctor in history, based on a rich bibliography of the problem, has the merit of making a meticulous analysis of the most important and complex situations created by the rule of the Ottoman Empire over the Albanian territories following the reforms of the tanzimat, covering nearly the entire 19th century and first two decades of the 20th, with regard to the influence of Turkish domination over the entire social-economic and political life of the Albanian population. The Albanian national renaissance movement bore this powerful imprint up to the achievement of state independence in November 1912, with the national emancipation being the result of laborious work carried out by the Albanian patriots not only within the country but also in the cultural societies which were operating in Constantinople, Cairo, Sofia or Bucharest, but all according to the model imprinted by the Albanians who were taking action in Constantinople. Heading them were the prestigious intellectuals such as the Abdyl brothers, Naim and Sami Frasheri or, later, Ismail Qemali, who closely linked the problems of culture and the school in the Albanian language with obtaining Albania's independence. All these problems specific to the liberation struggle of the Albanians are included brilliantly in the new work of the historian Gazmend Shpula.

Although we are faced with some of the author's older selections from studies and concerns, some even exceeding the framework referred to, through the fact that they were brought up to date with new Albanian and foreign documentary materials not utilized up until now and, in particular, due to their unified line, forming a well-knit whole, this work has taken on a clearly monographic nature over the entire period. Starting with the study entitled "On the Nature of the Albanian National Renaissance,"

which analyzes the national and anti-feudal aspects of the struggle against the Ottoman occupation, the motor forces of the national revolution, the emphasis is placed on Albania's economic and social status. A special study is done in "The Situation of Ownership of the Land at the End of the 19th Century and Start of the 20th Century" in order to define the role of various classes and social strata in the country's economic life on the basis of detailed statistical data, with a general view of the exploitation of the peasantry.

The study entitled "The Frasheri Brothers About the Albanian League of Prizren," compiled on the basis of letters between them, although substantial with regard to interpretation, has many omissions in the information referring to the ties of Naim Frasheri with Romania. As is well known, a portion of the writings of this great patriot was first published in Romania. A recent book by historian Kristo Frasheri\* published in Tirana for the anniversary celebration of the League of Prizren, besides a rich bibliography of Albanian works which appeared under the sponsorship of the Drita and Dituria cultural societies which were active in Bucharest as well as news of Sami Frasheri, among which is the one referring to the play entitled "Besa" (The Oath) played on the stage of the Lyric Theater in 1901. It is surprising how an informed author, as the one of this book, forgets Romania's ties with the Albanian national renaissance movement, particularly its masterminds, as is the case of the brothers Naim and Sami Frasheri.

Of major importance for clarifying certain positions on the role of the popular masses in determining the success of revolutionary actions is the chapter entitled "The movement of the Popular Masses in 1875-1881, the Base and Main Force of the League of Prizren," which ends with the conclusion that although the League of Prizren was defeated, the Albanians drew the necessary lessons for the future decisive battles against the occupiers and to bring the task of national liberation to a conclusion." (p 195). In connection with reading Kristo Dako's book, "The League of Prizren, the First National Movement for Defense of the Territorial Integrity and Gaining of Independence by Albania," Bucharest, 1922, we must emphasize that for the time at which it was written it represented a progressive viewpoint, while a cut down version of a single paragraph on page 25 is not able to offer a plausible argument regarding the author's concept of the role of personality in history. On the other hand, despite the fact that the author lived and wrote the book in Romania, he used a vast documentary base while the conclusions to a large extent also are worthwhile even today.

What is interesting to us is the information on the "first Albanian school of Prizren" and the "Albanian League of Peja," but, in particular, the information contained in the essay entitled "The Uprising Which Led to the Proclamation of Independence," for the fact that it completes the picture of the Albanian renaissance movement with collateral data, but significant data for the popular masses' state of spirit on the eve of events which concerned the entire southeastern European area in the first decade of the 20th century. The author concludes: "The independent Albania was not the product of political combinations or the gift of one or another foreign factor, but it was the result of the people's heroic struggle, the direct crowning of the great Albanian uprisings in 1910-1912 led by special patriots, the best sons of the people." (p 297).

\* See Kristo Frasheri, "Tre Vellezer Pizhtare" (Three Brothers of the Enlightenment), "8 Nentori" Publishers, Tirana, 1978.

Despite all the shortcomings pointed out, especially the ones referring to the Romanian aid given to the struggle of the Albanian patriots to free their country from under Ottoman rule and the proclamation of Albania's state independence, the new book by the historian Gazmend Shpuza, as stated in the introduction of this presentation, is an important achievement by the modern Albanian author and historiographer, a materialization of the fact that no matter how many times a problem is researched, various angles still are to be found in interpreting and presenting the facts and in discovering new interesting information.

8071

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SLOVENIANS REPORT SENTENCING OF AUSTRIAN WHO SPIED FOR ROMANIA

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 30 Jan 82 p 14

[Article by Slavko Fras: "The Chief of Police Was 'Baby'"]

[Text] Vienna--29 January--From our correspondent--Today the former chief of the Vienna foreign police, 57-year-old Edgar Berger, a high official, was sentenced to only 2 years in prison--they regarded as extenuating circumstances the naivete with which Berger began the espionage affair during which he supplied the Romanian intelligence service, the "Securitate," with information about Romanian refugees, Austrian police employees and functionaries in the Austrian Government's security services.

Berger was exposed soon after the chief code clerk defected from the Romanian Embassy in Vienna and took with him a sack with 60 kg of strictly confidential documents. American experts processed this material and, "in a fraternal spirit," they presented the documents referring to the retired high-level Austrian police officer to their Viennese colleagues.

During the 2-day trial, Berger burst into tears repeatedly and asserted that he wandered into espionage by mistake and that he was not aware of it. "The Romanians were friendly to me, we sat in inns and talked. That was all," he stated. They discussed matters which they should not have been talking about. "Mr Judge, I confess that what you accuse me of is true. But, believe me, I did not know that state secrets were involved." Then why did he accept the money? "Once the Romanian gave me 500 [schillings?] wrapped in a newspaper.

I looked at it and thought: 'What is this?'

Afterwards, it was too late."

The police chief received almost 6,000 schillings a month and also he did not pay for the drinks at various drinking sprees.

"I gave the money to my child for pocket money," he pleaded. But the cross-examiners established the fact that he spent a lot for a luxuriously furnished, large country home on the Austrian-Czech border.

The Austrian police, which closely collaborated with the Romanians in the investigation, established that the "Securitate" indicated that Berger was given a much larger "remuneration" than he actually received.

The Austrians and the Romanians now presume that the "intermediaries," the agents who had direct contact with the high official, pocketed the difference. Some of them "took off" immediately after the code clerk fled to America and others have not been seen recently.

Dr Edgar Berger tried to prove to the court that he was not so naive as it might appear to the jury. So he said that, at first, he prohibited the Romanian from telephoning him at his office.

When he told the Romanian this, the Romanian left for Prinz Eugen-strasse, where the Romanian Embassy is located, and on a big bulletin board in front of the entrance to the Belvedere Gallery, he drew the picture of an apple--this was a signal that there would be a meeting that night in the inn.

In the spy lists of the Romanian intelligence service, Berger is called by the code name "Baby."

CSO: 2800/227

STANKO TODOROV STRESSES IMPORTANT ROLE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 22 Jan 82 pp 1-2

[Interview with Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the National Assembly, conducted by Mikhail Gorinov, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent: "The 12th Party Congress and the Activities of the National Assembly"]

[Text] The three main directions of the supreme state power organ. Increased activity of people's representatives. Special discussion of the implementation of instructions. The people's councillors must live with the thoughts, concerns and actions of their electorate. The tasks of the Fatherland Front are becoming ever more responsible. Eighteen draft laws will be considered this year.

The further development and strengthening of socialist democracy and the improvement of the society's political system call for the solution of some specific problems related to the work of the supreme state power organ. This topic was discussed by Mikhail Gorinov, representative of OTECHESTVEN FRONT with Comrade Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and National Assembly chairman.

Question] Which are the basic features in the work of the National Assembly which show most clearly its active attitude toward the resolutions of the 12th CCP Congress?

Answer] The 12th congress was a major event in the life of the party and the people. In the spirit of the proven April line, the congress defined the main socio-economic task of the eighth 5-Year Plan. It substantiated the need for and indicated the ways leading to a return to all-round intensification and the enhancement of the people's living standard. Improving state construction and social management and the further development of socialist democracy play an important role in its resolutions.

The resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress are the concentrated expression of the interests and aspirations of the people and the party's orientation to the nation.

That is why these decisions are the focal point of the work of the supreme state power organ--the National Assembly.

The National Assembly will contribute to the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress along three main directions.

First. To the overall exercise of its constitutional function of supreme organizer of the planned management of the development of society. At its fourth session, the National Assembly passed the Law on the Unified Plan for the Socio-economic Development of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Within the framework of the 5-year plan it will stipulate the annual assignments and, through all its activities--legislative, controlling, etc.--will contribute to the implementation of the plan and to the growth of the homeland's economic power.

Second. Through its activities for improving the political system and developing socialist democracy. The National Assembly will take measures to maintain constitutional relations between the representative and the executive organs of state power. Parliamentary control over ministries, departments and executive committees of people's councils, the courts and the prosecution will be strengthened. It will thus implement the instruction of the 12th party congress on improving the political system of our society.

Third. Through its legislative activities. Changes in social relations and in the people, which take place in the process of building a developed socialist society, call for the updating of legislation and increasing the effectiveness of the laws. The National Assembly will engage in intensive efforts in this direction.

The adoption of an active attitude toward the resolutions of the 12th party congress calls for improving and raising the level of the work of the National Assembly as well. The starting ideas in this respect are found in the report which Comrade Todor Zhivkov submitted to the congress.

[Question] What will be the specific manifestation of the activities of the people's representatives in the Eighth National Assembly at the present stage of the development of socialist democracy?

[Answer] The people's representatives are responsible political and state personalities. The constitution, the Law on People's Representatives and People's Councilors and the Regulation on the Work of the National Assembly grant the necessary rights for the implementation of their functions.

The free and businesslike discussion of draft laws and other parliamentary acts is an expression of socialist democracy. We expect of the people's representatives, through their statements, suggestions and motions at National Assembly sessions to contribute to the enhancement of its work standard. The past four sessions of the National Assembly have been characterized precisely by the increased activeness of the people's representatives.

The permanent commissions, which are justifiably described as "small parliaments," are an effective democratic institution. Here all important problems on which the

National Assembly must pass resolutions are discussed. The commissions perform important central functions as well. The National Assembly leadership tries to create conditions leading to improving the work of the permanent commissions and to enhance the role of the individual people's representatives in their work.

The democratic nature of our society is manifested not only in the fact that the people's representatives are elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal balloting. Throughout the duration of his mandate, the people's representative must maintain permanent contacts with his electorate, defend its legitimate requests, inform them of the work of the parliament and seek their advice on decisions to be made. The 12th party congress ascribed great importance to this function of the people's representative. Our aim is to organize and assist the development of ties between people's representatives and the population.

[Question] The active attitude of the voters concerning the most vital problems of our development was particularly impressive in the preelectoral activities. This is confirmed by the number and the scale of the instructions which were issued. What is your view of the nature of the people's instructions for the current term of the supreme power organ? In this respect, to what extent could we look for connections between direct and representative democracy?

[Answer] The instructions of the voters are being asserted as an effective form of socialist democracy ever more extensively and firmly. It is through them that the citizens directly participate in management. They are the yardstick of social activism, civic conscience, responsibility and concern for the national interests on the part of the working people. During the preelection period, 1,350 instructions were addressed to the government and the ministries alone, pertaining to economic, social, cultural and other problems. Most of them are related to resolving daily problems facing the citizens.

The classification of the instructions was completed after the elections and they were directed to the respective ministries and people's councils. Programs for their implementation were adopted at the sessions of the okrug people's councils. The plan for socioeconomic development in the Eighth 5-Year Plan secured the necessary resources for the implementation of the instructions included in the program. We have decided to demand the strict, timely and accurate implementation of instructions by the respective organs and to keep the citizens steadily informed of the work accomplished. Toward the end of the year the National Assembly will hold a special discussion on the implementation of the voters' instructions.

Let me state frankly that the implementation of a high percentage of the instructions related to public works depends on the initiative of obshchina people's councils, the municipalities and the Fatherland Front committees, which must organize the voluntary work of the citizens and make use of local resources.

The instructions formulated by the citizens are the live tie which links voters with people's representatives and councilors. They are the link between direct and representative democracy. This is the source of their strength and of the role they play in the life and strengthening of the country.

[Question] It is likely that the new features in the work of the National Assembly will be reflected in the activities of people's councils in okrugs and conurbation systems. Do you consider this expectation justified and how will it be manifested?

[Answer] The National Assembly provides supreme leadership and control over the activities of the people's councils. A Permanent Commission on People's Councils was created by the first session of the Eighth National Assembly to help the parliament.

The new features in the activities of the National Assembly are of a basic nature and will have a favorable impact on the work of the people's councils as well. As the local representatives of the state power and of the people's self-administration, they provide the comprehensive leadership in the development of the conurbation systems and the okrugs. The most important part of their activities is to meet the population's requirements and to ensure the effective development of production forces and the protection of the environment.

Enhancing the role of the councilors and strengthening their ties with the population are essential features in improving the activities of the people's councils. They must live with the thoughts, concerns, actions and deeds of their electorate.

The obshtina people's councils must be granted extensive rights. They must have strong material and organizational possibilities in order to resolve the problems of individuals and settlements.

The normative organization of this enhanced role of the local organs of state power and social self-administration will be provided by the new law on the people's councils, which will be passed by the National Assembly this year.

[Question] The great positive changes in our socioeconomic life broaden the activities of the Fatherland Front in the areas of its work and of the National Assembly. How do you assess this new feature and to what extent, in your view, could it help you in your work?

[Answer] The Fatherland Front was and remains the most popular support of the people's regime. The ties linking the Fatherland Front with the representative organs are close and unbreakable. It would be virtually impossible to enhance the role of the National Assembly and the people's representatives without the active efforts of the Fatherland Front. In this respect, priority is given to a number of tasks facing it: the organization of systematic relations between people's representatives and citizens; the submission of periodical reports by the people's representatives to the voters; help in the study of and control over the solution of problems which the working people submit to the people's representatives; reporting on the implementation of instructions, etc. The Fatherland Front organizations can contribute a great deal to increasing the exigency toward state and economic organs and organizations.

[Question] What are the main features of the work plan of the National Assembly in 1982?

[Answer] The 1982 National Assembly work plan, adopted at its fourth session, calls for extensive and varied activities on the part of the supreme state power organ. The range of problems to be discussed by the parliament has been broadened and parliamentary control over the activities of the government, the ministries and the executive committees of the people's councils is being strengthened. A total of 18 draft bills will be discussed. They include bills on young people, the people's councils, cooperatives, social information, etc. The National Assembly will also discuss the report submitted by the government. The minister of construction and architecture and the chairman of the Sofia People's Council Executive Committee will report to the parliament on housing construction; the minister of public health will report on the condition of the health care system and the measures taken to ensure its improvement.

Active efforts will be made by the permanent commissions as well. They will discuss draft bills and implement a number of control measures. The respective permanent commissions will discuss the reports submitted by the minister of transportation on the condition of transportation services; the minister of justice, on the organization of legal services; and the ministers of light industry and of machine building and electronics and the chairman of the National Agroindustrial Union on the production of consumer goods.

The National Assembly will pursue its active international efforts. Our parliamentary delegations will visit India, Iraq, Yugoslavia, Syria, Nigeria, the GDR and other countries. We will host delegations from a number of friendly countries, including the USSR, Sweden, The Netherlands, Kampuchea, etc. The Bulgarian Inter-parliamentary Group will develop its work as well.

The implementation of the plans for parliamentary work in 1982 will be a major step toward enhancing the role of the National Assembly and a contribution to the further development of the developed socialist society.

5003  
PSO: 2200/17

BULGARIA

ARMY PARTY MEETINGS REFLECT WEAKNESSES IN TRAINING, DISCIPLINE, PREPAREDNESS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Dec 81 p 2

[Article: "Report and Election Party Meetings in Complete Conformity with Demands of Twelfth BCP Congress"]

[Text] The report and election meetings of primary party organizations are in full swing. The GIPUNA [Glavnot. Politichesko Upravlenie na Narodnata Armiya; Main Political Administration of the People's Army] has discussed their preparation and conduct.

The general estimate is that the political organizers and party leaders are meeting the demands of the BCP Central Committee and the GIPUNA. Meetings proceed in organized fashion in the spirit of the tasks assigned by the Twelfth BCP Congress and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference. They rightly concentrate attention on making a thorough and comprehensive evaluation of the work of party organizations and communists to bring the combat readiness of the troops into conformity with the demands of the Twelfth BCP Congress, the Fourteenth All-Army Party Conference, and the complex and tense international situation. They show more successfully the contribution of party work to improvement of the organization and quality of training activity among the troops. They discuss more thoroughly the primary organization's inner-party and ideological-and-educational work.

Meetings proceed with heightened interest and active participation of party members in discussion of the questions that are raised. What is favorable is that the communists show a critical and self-critical attitude and a sense of dissatisfaction with the state of combat readiness and with military and political training. Practical suggestions are made for the improvement of military and party work.

It has been noted that, side by side with what is favorable, there are some weaknesses, too. Not all the meetings proceed in the spirit of the tasks set by the Twelfth Party Congress and the October National Conference. The depth of the evaluations made and conclusions drawn at them about party work does not meet these high demands to the fullest extent or give a comprehensive idea of the multifaceted activity of primary organizations for fulfillment of the decisions of the Twelfth BCP Congress.

Some of the report and election meetings cannot fully demonstrate the contribution of party work to improvement of the organization and quality of training activity, to implementation of congress demands for a general intensification in soldierly labor, and to the most fruitful utilization of very good practice-combat, social and living conditions in the army and the experience of front-rankers for a sharp rise in the progress of combat and political training. They do not have a most thorough appreciation of the communist approach to competition among the troops in the light of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference and of the New BNA directive on socialist competition. Nor do they put in a new light the questions relating to the campaign for economical use of materials, funds, fuels and energy. They do not give enough attention to the role and influence of party organizations in solidifying military personnel and strengthening discipline, or to the resolute halting of attempts to violate disciplinary requirements. Nor do they raise or appreciate problems involving national, production, planning and financial discipline with sufficient pointedness.

A number of report meetings take a very general and simplified approach in disclosing the inner-party life of the organizations. They have not got the fullest appreciation, the thoroughst comprehension or the minutest understanding of the tasks resulting from the Twelfth BCP Congress, viz.: further elevation of the role and combat capability of primary organizations; continuous expansion and development of their amateur art activities; concern over the growth of inner-party democracy; conversion of their inner life into a model for military personnel; ways and means of improving the quality of party personnel and the education of young communists; conversion of every party organization into a mainstay of its members. They appreciate incompletely and with a certain misunderstanding the primary party organization's role as key political nucleus of the military collective, in consequence of which its position as representative of the party in the collective does not emerge.

In isolated cases questions involving party leadership of the Komsomol are discussed in a biased manner. Conclusions about party activity in this area are based more on the communists sent to work in the Komsomol than upon comprehensive fulfillment of the tasks set in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and in the Long-Term Program of the MNO [Ministry of National Defense] and the GIPUNA.

Some of the reports and speeches do not treat the questions of ideological and educational work carried on by the primary organizations completely in conformity with the demands of the Twelfth Congress and with the tasks assigned in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference. They have a tendency to pay greater attention to the decreed educational activities rather than analyze the fulfillment of the tasks in prospect for the party organizations' ideological activity. They do not disclose the educational work done to study, clarify and implement the decisions of the Twelfth Party Congress and convert their ideological content into understanding, conviction and motive for an active campaign by the soldiers to raise combat capability and combat readiness of troops. They raise--in the most general form, completely inappropriate to the conditions under which the respective primary party organization and military personnel operate--questions regarding the further study and use of the great educational influence of the socialist social environment in the army, as well as questions regarding

intensification of the offensiveness and combat-mindedness of ideological work, and strengthening them as the main means of constant spiritual contact between party and personnel. They do not reveal thoroughly enough the inner ideological life of some of the party organizations and their work to heighten the ideological tempering and conviction of the communists and the campaign against negative behavior etc.

There are party leaders who underestimate the effective role of report meetings in successfully solving the tasks now assigned to the troops. They are unwarrantedly complacent with what has been achieved and do not direct attention to the still unsolved questions and weaknesses in troop training. They point out the heightened party demands and the increasingly involved international situation more in order to inform the communists than to intensify their personal responsibility for solving the problems directly. Some of the report and election meetings give greater attention to past activity rather than expose, with sufficient alarm, the present status of military and party personnel. This may explain why some of the meetings, on the one hand, proceed "normally" and, on the other, in units where the same party organizations are operating, there are serious weaknesses in combat readiness, training, keeping on the alert, and strengthening the discipline of personnel.

There are significant weaknesses in some places in formulating the impending tasks for the employment of party organizations and communists that follow from the decisions of the Twelfth BCP Congress and the October National Conference. Tasks are assigned very generally, without the necessary specificity to match the local conditions and situation, nor are they sufficiently in conformity with the requirements incorporated in the Minister of National Defense's order regarding the new training year or with the directives of the chief of GIPUNA regarding party-political work. The necessary attention is not given in full measure in drawing up and adopting draft decisions.

This prevents or fails to assure the necessary conditions for report and election meetings to contribute most actively to a further elevation of the primary party organization's reform role in the military collective.

The reasons for these weaknesses trace back to political organizers and party committees and to their unbusinesslike and uncreative direction of the training and conduct of the report and election meetings of primary organizations. Some political organizers have not managed to direct the attention of party leaders to what is the main and vital thing, namely, that the meetings should proceed entirely in the spirit of the demands of the Twelfth Party Congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the October National Conference. They have not made good and clear to the political sections and party committees how and which party leaders are to be helped in meeting the requirements for the successful organization of report meetings. There are political sections which apply a low standard in evaluating report meetings and too little stringency in eliminating weaknesses. The selection and renewal of party leaders and especially of party secretaries is not supervised everywhere at first hand.

The reasons for the weaknesses that occur trace back to the party leaders themselves, their responsibility, their inadequate training and ability to enforce

the party's high demands in practice. Some of the party bureaus do not make clear beforehand the favorable and the weak aspects of their work in the spirit of the party's high demands, on the basis of which reports are thereafter to be drawn up. Some of these leaders begin the preparation of materials for the meetings very late, thus failing to create the necessary conditions for thorough discussion of the assigned questions.

For political organizers and party leaders of the army there is now no more important or paramount task than this--that report and election party meetings should be prepared and held in full conformity with the demands of the Twelfth BCP Congress and the October National Conference.

6474  
CSO: 2200/54

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AVAILABILITY OF CZECHOSLOVAK PUBLICATIONS DISCUSSED

'KATOLICKE NOVINY's' Editorial Notice

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Apr 81 p 6

[A notice signed "Editorial Office:" "Communication"]

[Text] Of late the editors of KATOLICKE NOVINY have been receiving letters and telephone calls in which customers complain about delays or occasional unavailability of our weekly. We wish to tell our readers that this state of affairs has not been caused by our editorial office, nor by Mir 4 Printing Shop in Prague I where the paper is printed. Insofar as editing and producing the paper is concerned, every issue is prepared in time for distribution which, however, then depends on the Postal Newspaper Delivery Service, as does the handling of permanent subscriptions, as stated on the back page of every issue.

Reader Preferences Revealed

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 3, 20 Jan 82 p 12

[Editorial signed "ej": "One Way To Clear Up a Spell"]

[Text] Some time ago, when minister of communications issued a directive forbidding the owners of Postal Newspaper Delivery Service and tobacco kiosks to keep for their regular customers newspapers and magazines under the counter, it created quite a stir. The subject of discussion, which was even participated in by the press, was the fear that this regulation might do disservice to the most discerning and devoted newspaper readers.

I must admit that I had never thought of this problem before but afterwards I began to pay attention. Accordingly, I discovered some interesting things. For example, the very popular and very hard-to-get magazine MLADY SVET which one formerly had no chance of finding on display after 8 a.m. of the day of its publication, now will stay on display till at least half past 8, by which time it will have been bought up by students from neighboring schools. Copies of the magazine VLASTA, so popular among our women, which news vendors always used to pull out with a conspiratorial wink from under the counter--where it often lay unused from the day of its publication until Saturday--now sometimes remains

on display in the kiosk as late as 1 day after publication. There has been a drastic change in the very appearance of newsstands and counters at which newspapers are sold. On counters where after 8 a.m. you used to find nothing but MLADA FRONTA, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY and PRACE, you may now find LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE and SVODODNE SLOVO, occasionally--given inclement weather--even on Saturday mornings at half past 10, while other dailies are unavailable.

Blast that regulation! Just a year ago, publications such as LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE, VLASTA and DORKA were looked upon as treasured rarities and one cannot really blame some of the salespeople for not having the fortitude to refuse gratuities amounting to double the price of each publication, urged on them by grateful customers for having obligingly kept those papers for them under the counter. And now the magic has been dispelled. I leave it to the common sense of the reader to figure out what other spells could be similarly cleared up if similar directives were issued and consistently enforced in other areas of our retail trade. It boggles the mind just to think of it!

CSO: 2400/141

REFORMS OF LEGISLATION ON HIGHER EDUCATION PROPOSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 154, 12 Oct 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Reform of GDR Higher education Legislation Demanded." A translation of the West Berlin STAAT UND RECHT article cited below follows this commentary.]

Text 7 The West Berlin journal STAAT UND RECHT has called for a sweeping reform of the legislation in effect for GDR universities and advanced schools. It notes that it is especially necessary to standardize higher education law -- in the admissions sector, for example -- in order to gain increased comprehensibility through self-contained legislation. At present, there are still many partially contradictory individual regulations for sectors whose circumstances are the same. Moreover, higher education legislation must place greater emphasis on the shared responsibility of the enterprises in the areas of research, training and basic and advanced education. In areas where the processes of supplementing, revising and clarifying the law allow, individual regulations should also be improved upon and policy and objectives precisely defined.

GDR Law Professor's Analysis

West Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 30 No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press 26 Aug 81) pp 905-913

[Article by Prof Dr Jilli Buechner-Uder, Department of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg: "Problems of Further Development of Higher Education Legislation"]

Text 7 1. The methodical organization of the law into branches of law is an essential factor in jurisdiction, practical application of the law, research and legal education. This systematization cannot be carried out arbitrarily. Rather, it results from the organization of social relationships which constitute the subject matter of legislation -- or the method, the special procedure, employed by the law to influence the social relationships which it regulates.<sup>1</sup> The system of socialist law, its organization into branches of law, is conditioned by objective and subjective factors, the decisive one being the objectivity of the character of the socialist legal system. The result is that the structure of socialist law is

basically the same in the individual socialist states; there can of course be individual differences in systems — depending above all upon subjective factors.

In addition to the methodical organization of law into branches of law, other systematization criteria also have to be observed, however. Hierarchy, incorporation and codification are major types of legislative systematization.<sup>2</sup> From these standpoints it is also possible to categorize and classify law systematically according to management sectors (cultural legislation, health legislation and social legislation, for example). This is done chiefly when publishing statute books. But this type of systematization is necessary and beneficial not only to legislation; in my view it also promotes interdisciplinary research by bringing together legal experts from different branches of law to carry out joint studies.

The systematization of socialist law into branches of law does not preclude the development of other groupings for specific reasons. But in that event, the assumption should be made that such groupings are not branches of law but are other systematization systems,<sup>3</sup> for which the term legal or scientific domain should be used. If research work is to be effective, a determination ought to be made as to which branches of law and legal institutions belong to a particular legal domain.

This also applies to higher education law, which incorporates within it the norms of various branches of law and is determined by the parameters of its management sector. In this context a prerequisite for a study of the development of this legal domain is an analysis of its content, in which case it is necessary to determine the social relationships, branches of law, legal institutions and legal norms that come under the heading of higher education law.

2. Assuming the validity of the thesis that higher education law is the legal domain that encompasses the management sector for higher education affairs, it follows that it includes all social relationships that are established, altered or nullified within the framework of managerial activity on the part of organs and institutions of higher education and/or its managers and staff employees. The main ones are public law relationships (e.g., pertaining to the establishment and guarantee of the constitutional right to education in accordance with Art 26 of the GDR Constitution), administrative law relationships (e.g., relationships between the ministry and the institution of higher education or the institution and the student), labor law relationships (e.g., labor contracts for staff employees of the higher education institution), economic law relationships (e.g., contractual ties between higher education institutions and the combines and enterprises) and civil law relationships (e.g., rental or lease agreements concluded by higher education institutions).

Additional legal relationships exist as well, those that are concerned with patent law, innovator law or with other branches of law.<sup>4</sup> In other words, higher education law encompasses a number of branches of law whose norms and legal institutions — as in other social sectors — also apply to the higher education sector. Although the heterogeneity of a complex arrangement such as this may make it of little use in the systematic education of students, it is nonetheless ultimately appropriate for the practical work of managers and staff employees who deal with higher education, because they use the law in its complexity, not separately according to branches of law.<sup>5</sup>

It is also characteristic of higher education law that this sector has specific regulations that apply solely or mainly to higher education. These regulations chiefly concern the responsibilities and powers of universities and advanced schools, the responsibilities, rights and obligations of students as well as the responsibilities, rights and obligations of university-level teachers and scientific staff employees. The main ones are as follows:

The Decree on the Responsibilities of Universities, Scientific Colleges and University-level Scientific Institutions, dated 25 February 1970; the decree has been supplemented with additional regulations concerned especially with the work of their councils;

Regulations on examinations, diplomas and graduates, the academic degrees and numerous other rules of law and normative directives from the minister for university and technical school affairs and other organs involved in the education process;

Decrees on the appointment of university-level teachers and on staff employing; regulations on academic degrees and other individual regulations that are also important to the status of university-level teachers and other persons as well (in the acquisition of academic degrees, for instance).<sup>6</sup>

These rules in particular and the social relationships that underlie them make up the real core of higher education law. But it must not be overlooked in this regard that they also come under different branches of law — mainly administrative law and labor law — and corresponding scientific disciplines.

3. Administrative law is viewed as the branch of uniform socialist law whose rules regulate those social relationships that are formed in the process of executive/administrative activity by the organs of government in the regular, operational management of social development.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, administrative law as it pertains to higher education law encompasses the following main areas:

The legal status, the responsibilities and powers of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs as they pertain to administrative law. Also included are other organs that have authority over universities, colleges or other university-level scientific institutions;

The legal status, the responsibilities and powers of universities, colleges and other university-level scientific institutions (e.g., medical academies);

The educational status of regular students and other types of students (correspondence and night-school students, research students, prospective students, auditors, participants in terms of long-term continuing education and day students);

The responsibilities and powers of university-level teachers and scientific staff employees as they pertain to administrative law.

It must be noted by way of explanation that the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs (MUF), acting on behalf of the Council of Ministers and as its organ, is primarily responsible for the uniform execution of university and technical school policy in the management sector for university and technical school

affairs. Not all institutions of higher learning are directly subordinate to this ministry, however. The only ones are the universities and medical academies, the technical colleges and engineering colleges, the Freiberg Mining Academy, the Franziuscher College of Economics and the Leipzig Commercial College. The remaining 35 advanced schools come under other central organs. For instance, the teachers' colleges come under the Ministry for Public Education, and the conservatories of music are subordinate to the Ministry for Culture. The Karl Marx Party College is under the SED Central Committee, and the FGGB Federal Executive Board is in charge of the Fritz Heckert Trade Union College. The 240 technical schools are presently administered by central organs of the government (e.g., the agricultural engineering schools are under the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Natural Resources), by the bezirk councils (e.g., the institutes for teacher training) or by social organizations (e.g., the Friedrich Engels Agricultural Engineering School of the FDGB Farmers' Mutual Aid Association) reports to the FDGB Central Executive Board.

Higher education law is consequently charged with regulating the administrative legal relations between these organs and the advanced schools under them as well as cooperation by the MfW with these organs. In practice there are also numerous places of higher education legislation and other normative documents that have been issued by these organs for their own sectors,<sup>1</sup> as well as regulations that provide for participation by these organs in certain decisions of the minister for university and technical school affairs and, conversely, for his approval of decisions only by the managements of these organs.<sup>2</sup> Regardless of all the various jurisdictions, the MfW continues to be responsible for the uniform execution of university and technical school policy, for which the minister possesses the corresponding authority.<sup>3</sup> It should be equally beyond dispute that the legal delineation of those higher education legal relationships is governed by administrative law; this applies to the legal status of universities and colleges as well as the other university-level scientific institutions.<sup>4</sup> Their organizational form is that of state institutions which are subordinate to organs of the state apparatus, and whose legal status -- especially in terms of responsibilities and powers -- lies within the purview of administrative law.<sup>5</sup> Chief among the administrative legal responsibilities and powers of the universities and technical schools -- thus coming under the category of executive/administrative activity -- are admissions to institutions of higher education, the establishment and further administration of student educational relationships, the awarding of academic degrees and professional titles as well as delineation of the responsibilities and powers of their advisory bodies (e.g., scientific councils) and structural units (e.g., departments).

The student educational relationship is essentially regulated by administrative law, this applies not only to the regular student but also to the other types of students, whereby still other legal relationships may exist outside the educational law (i.e., the labor law relationship in the case of correspondence students).<sup>6</sup> We name the students' educational relationship under administrative law together with other education, mainly labor laws. This applies to general vocational training, or student employment during vacations, for example.<sup>7</sup> Although in this case the educational relationship under administrative law remains in effect, together with its rights and obligations, other labor law provisions, however, can also become part of the educational relationship or lead to further conflicts under labor law. The student educational relationship is essentially a relationship in administrative law.<sup>8</sup>

By contrast, the legal relationships of university-level teachers and scientific staff employees are primarily determined by labor law.<sup>15</sup> Labor law is that branch of uniform socialist law which deals with the rules of law set by the state with input from the trade unions; it is the branch that regulates employment relationships for workers and salaried employees as well as some closely related social circumstances in which they do their work and in which their capacity for work is further developed at the same time.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, also included here are the employment relationships for university-level teachers and scientific staff employees; the Labor Code is the principal basis on which these relationships are established, structured and terminated. A number of rules of administrative law are applied in addition, however; e.g., with reference to the appointment and retirement of professors. To my mind, these are decisions that come under the heading of administrative law in the performance of executive/administrative duties. Also in the nature of administrative law are the special disciplinary regulations for teachers at the university level<sup>17</sup> — involving the establishment of specific administrative commissions in the form of disciplinary committees. The same is true of those regulations that deal with responsibilities and powers under administrative law; e.g., with respect to the student whose educational status comes under the heading of administrative law. Just as the status of managers and staff employees of state organs bears the imprint of both labor law and administrative law, this also holds true for university-level teachers and scientific staff employees — taking into consideration the specific conditions peculiar to higher education institutions.

4. The effort made here to determine the social relationships within the legal domain of higher education law indicates that its specific regulations have to be classified mainly under administrative law. This means that the results of research and discussion on administrative law have to be evaluated in order to advance the development of higher education legislation; conversely, the effectiveness and experiences in applying these regulations have to be worked up by the administrative law branch. An example would be the discussion of administrative/procedural law problems that this journal has carried.<sup>18</sup> Without going into these questions in detail, it can be noted that higher education law contains a number of procedural provisions. They express in a more detailed fashion than a general procedural law could in the composition and the rights of the protest commissions as well as the participation of citizens — represented mainly here by the responsible FDJ managements — so an assessment of the procedural provisions of higher education law argues for the retention of specific procedural regulations. In higher education affairs as well, however, not all areas have exactly the same legal structure; additional legislation must be undertaken.

The development of higher education law primarily bears the imprint of resolutions by the party of the working class. The new decree on scholarships,<sup>19</sup> which awards all students a basic grant of 200 marks regardless of parental income, and which is aimed at increasing productivity, is a convincing example of attaining the unity of economic and social policy. The demands made of college graduates at the Fifth Higher Education Conference and the 10th SED Party Congress have to be a determining factor in the further development of higher education legislation. Only in this way can graduates acquire the latest scientific information, readily usable knowledge and appropriate skills and a rich intellectual and cultural education; only in this way can they acquire an independent scientific orientation, convert

their scientific knowledge into practice in a responsible manner and involve themselves personally and politically in the effort to strengthen socialism.<sup>20</sup>

These demands must above all determine the goals and objectives of the curriculum manuals for the various basic courses of study; the Scientific Advisory Councils of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs have started revising and redefining these goals and objectives. The minister for university and technical school affairs will approve the curriculum manuals, which are to be developed jointly by academics, practitioners and students. Thus, in conjunction with the class schedule and the provisions covering student work at youth project sites, in nationalization and design engineering offices and in student competitions, as well as the provisions that promote gifted and talented young scientists and artists, the curriculum manual constitutes the obligatory education and training document for the individual departments of higher education institutions. The conversion of curriculum manuals into practice and the realization of the demands placed upon university-level teachers, scientific staff employees and students at the Fifth Higher Education Conference and the 10th Party Congress will be determinant factors for the years ahead, years in which to train college graduates who will measure up to the great demands of the 1990's.<sup>21</sup>

The revision and redefinition of the curriculum manuals also entails the examination of programs of instruction and the preparation of new ones. These cannot and should not replace the individual instructor's own initiative but should provide opportunities to present and develop new and specific research findings, a situation that encourages the students' own initiative.

These examples show that the future development of higher education legislation lies in a substantive realization of the resolutions of the working class party, with a decisive role for the revision and redefinition of education and training documents, which will be rendered even more concrete by means of general training plans and rules at the educational institutions themselves.

But equal attention should also be paid to modifying specific technical regulations under higher education law. It must be kept in mind in this regard that the basic legislation covering the organization of universities and technical schools and their management structure, as well as the basic legislation for education, training and research has stood the test.<sup>22</sup> It will nevertheless be necessary to revise and simplify appropriate sets of norms in order to increase the effectiveness of the normative and organizing function of the law. Considering the demands for higher quality and greater effectiveness of scientific work and of the education and communist training of students, a thorough analysis and evaluation of the law as practiced is demanded.

It is not the concern of this article to map out a program for the development of higher education legislation, but some research findings can already be passed on:

- a) A further standardization of higher education law must be examined (e.g., for the admissions sector) in order to gain increased comprehensibility through self-contained legislation. At present, there are still many partially contradictory individual regulations for sectors whose circumstances are the same. In this regard, the new decree on scholarships shows that basic legislation can also contain precise rights and obligations at the same time.

- b) Higher education legislation must place greater emphasis on the shared responsibility of the combines and enterprises in the areas of research, training and basic and advanced education. This would mean examining the decree on practical vocational training and graduates, for example, chiefly in order to increase the responsibility of combines and enterprises during the practical training period and for the assignment of graduates. Also in this connection, there has to be an evaluation of experiences with obtaining graduates as well as with attending to the rights and obligations of graduates and enterprises when concluding the subsequent labor contracts; changes that have taken place in recent years in the social position, life experience and age structure of students must be taken into account here.<sup>23</sup>
- c) There must also be increased joint responsibility by university-level institutions as well as by other organs, combines, enterprises and institutions for the normative regulations covering such forms of education as correspondence courses, postgraduate study, supplementary study and other longer-range continuing education programs. The system encompassing the various kinds of study programs must be standardized.
- d) In areas where the processes of supplementing, revising and clarifying the law allow, individual regulations should also be improved upon and policy and objectives precisely defined. Then it would also be possible in disputed cases to assure a uniform application of the law through official pronouncements and comments.

As was concluded at the 10th SED Party Congress, the Fifth Higher Education Conference effectively demonstrated the desire of all members of our country's highest educational institutions to produce outstanding achievements designed to make a reality of the exclusive long-range conception for science and the development of higher education as contained in the SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on the "Tasks of the Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society," dated 16 March 1980. Socialist law -- and higher education law in particular -- must also help translate this conception into practice.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Marxist-Leninist Theory of Government and Law," textbook, Berlin, 1980, p 550 f.
2. Cf. "General Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State and the Law," Berlin, 1976, Vol 4, p 280.
3. This is not being observed at present. For example, H. Spittel ("Questions of Labor Law and Education Law in the Public Education Sector," Berlin, 1980, p 98 f) regards education law as a branch of law.
4. Cf. B. Klemann, dissertation entitled "On Stimulating Creative Achievements by Regular Students Through Socialist Law at the Universities and Advanced Schools of the GDR," Halle, 1980.

5. Cf G. Bernhard, "The Ninth SED Party Congress and the Continued Increase in the Effectiveness of Socialist Law at the Universities and Advanced Schools of the GDR," DAS HOCHSCHULWESSEN, 1974, Vol 1, p 2 f.
6. All the regulations listed here are contained in the loose-leaf digest entitled "University and Technical School Legislation."
7. Cf "Administrative Law," textbook, Berlin, 1979, p 42.
8. Cf, for example, the minister of culture's order concerning the assignment of graduates of fine arts colleges (painting/graphics, sculpture) and the continued broad support of young artists; order dated 28 April 1978, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, pp 174, 290.
9. Cf Art 49 of the "Order on the Conduct of Examinations at Universities and Technical Schools and on University and Technical School Final Examinations" — Examinations Order — 3 January 1975, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, p 183.
10. Cf "Decree on the Statute of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs," 15 October 1969, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part II, p 547.
11. Cf "Decree on the Responsibilities of Universities, Scientific Colleges and University-Level Scientific Institutions," 25 February 1970, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, p 189.
12. Cf W. Kemnitzer/G. Lueder, "On the Legal Character of Universities and Colleges," HALLESCHE STUDIEN ZUM HOCHSCHULRECHT, 1980, Vol 1, p 34 f.
13. Cf. H. Thieme, "Student Vacation Employment as a Special Labor Law Relationship," HALLESCHE STUDIEN ZUM HOCHSCHULRECHT, 1980, Vol 2, p 62 f.
14. Cf W. Buechner-Under, "The Student Educational Relationship — An Administrative Law Relationship," HASSESCHE STUDIEN ZUM HOCHSCHULRECHT, 1980, Vol 1, p 43 f.
15. Cf B. Schad, dissertation entitled "The Legal Relationship of the University-Level Teacher in the GDR," Leipzig, 1979.
16. Cf "Labor Law," a compendium, Berlin, 1979, p 17.
17. Cf "Order on the Disciplinary Responsibility of Teachers at the University Level," 5 February 1957, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, p 177.
18. Cf K. Bonninger, "On Theoretical Problems of an Administrative Proceeding and Its Importance in Guaranteeing the Subjective Rights of Citizens," STAAT UND RECHT, 1980, p 934; W. Bernet, "Attainment of Socialist Legality in State Management Through Legal Redress," STAAT UND RECHT, 1980, p 13; H. Pohl/G. Schulze "Increasing Role of Administrative Law in Protecting the Rights of Citizens," STAAT UND RECHT, 1981, p 397.

19. "Decree on the Granting of Scholarships to Regular Students at GDR Universities, Colleges and Technical Schools" — Scholarship Decree — 11 June 1981, GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, p 229.
20. Cf "SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Party Congress," Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin, 1981, p 94.
21. Ibid.
22. Cf J. Buechner-Uhder, "On the Role of Administrative Law in the Further Accomplishment of Tasks in Education and Training at the Universities and Colleges," STAAT UND RECHT, 1980, p 699 f.
23. Cf "SED Central Committee Politburo Resolution, 18 March 1980, on the Responsibilities of Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society," "Directives and Announcements of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs," 1980, p 13.

7453

CCO: 2300/127

STATE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION PERSONNEL POLICY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Report by Piotr Moczar (PAP): "Review and Evaluation of the State Central Administration Cadres"]

[Text] On 2 February a conference of directors of cadre [personnel] departments of ministries and central offices as well as secretaries of party organizations in these institutions took place in Warsaw. It was devoted to the discussion of the concept of the functioning of the cadre system in the state central administration. Problems connected with the planned review and evaluation of the employees who are employed there was also discussed.

The conference was an item on the changes in cadre policy announced during the last meeting of the Sejm by the chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON), General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski. The deliberations were opened by Prof Dr Antoni Rajkiewicz, minister of labor, wages and social services. Next, Gen Div Dr Zygmunt Zielinski, secretary of WRON, presented to the participants in the conference the concepts for the functioning of a cadre system in the context of experiences and solutions applied in the armed forces.

The greatest attention was devoted to the problems of the gradual building and the comprehensive system of cadre operations in the state administration and to the basic, yet urgent temporary measures undertaken simultaneously. During the conference the advanced views on these topics were presented by Gen Bde Tadeusz Dziekan, director of the Cadres Department of the PZPR Central Committee, and also Gen Bde Michal Janiszewski, chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers and member of WRON.

During the deliberations, the fundamental determinations concerning the organization and procedure for the annual cadre reviews, which will begin this month in all the ministries and central offices, were explicitly stated. At the same time, the reviews will launch the creation of information banks on the future cadre which is a necessary base.

Within the framework of these reviews, an assessment of the work of all employees of the state central administration will be carried out in a collegial [team] manner. These reviews will also encompass the managerial cadre of the organizational units which are directly subordinate to the ministers and heads of central offices.

The criteria and requirements placed on candidates for managerial positions were firmly stressed. Particular emphasis was placed on the need to also entrust managerial positions to young people, who are full of enthusiasm and dynamism, yet, at the same time, prudent and professionally mature. The great importance of the openness of the cadre policy, so that it would be understandable and readable for everyone, was also stressed. The condition for its proper implementation is the objective and just evaluation of people and the creation of equal opportunities for professional development for everyone.

Among other current directions of cadre operations, the need to considerably broaden the institution of competition when selecting people for various managerial and specialist positions, in as democratic and objective a form of selection as possible, was pointed out. The necessity for urgently coordinating and integrating a system for improving the managerial cadres in the state was also highlighted.

Great emphasis was placed on the growing importance and role of a full-time cadre apparatus in the face of modern, orderly work with the cadres.

The reform in cadre policy, which had been undertaken many times during the last 35 years, was never consistently and fully brought into practice. This truth was clearly reflected in the statement by Gen Bde Tadeusz Dziekan, who stated during the conference that in taking over the function of director of the PZPR Central Committee's Cadre Department, he found that the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau on cadre policy, which was made in 1972, was excellent from a formal and meritorious point of view. Today, we must answer the questions why such fatal consequences resulted despite good and proper documents. This was, among other things, the result of a discrepancy between words and deeds and also everyday practice, the General stated.

The modernization of the administrative structures demands--in the opinion of the representatives from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs--the introduction of a strictly defined number of positions in the state administration. Up to now, new positions, departments, and sections were being created without restriction. At present, at the initiative of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and also certain [Sejm] deputies, it is intended to include a concrete number of positions for each ministry in the budget law. The retention or creation of each position will require meaningful justification, confirmed by concrete needs.

Regular reviews and evaluations of the cadre will permit, it seems, a precise description of who should be employed in each particular element of the state administration and in what position. This will also permit a better evaluation of the work of individual people. In the end, work in the state administration must be treated as a public service. Another matter is the necessity for clearly defining promotion prospects in each individual case. Clarity in this area has a precise impact on the output as well as on the quality of work. During the discussions on preparing the review of cadres in the state administration, the need to precisely describe the criteria for promotion and also for conducting cadre policy "in the open" was also emphasized.

In the planning to improve the operation of the state administration today, we reach for examples and experience of the army in the way it selects its leadership cadres. However, not all principles can be applied to other spheres of social life without modifications. Nonetheless, the fact that in the army, for years, information about a person's work efficiency, skills and achievements are entered in the first place in his personal file, deserves special attention. If we do not make this practice universal, all present programs will be limited only to words, questionnaires, standard acts, etc.

At present, one of the most important matters is to make a solid accounting with the past and to draw conclusions from it. Not without reason are the sources of the present crisis seen generally, i.a., in the fact that errors made, and in cadre policy as well, were not taken into account fully. Whoever does not understand this is not in a position to evaluate the complexity of the present crisis. The most serious errors in cadre policy are the loosening of discipline, ignoring the principles of cadre selection, tolerating incompetent people, and also restricting the managerial and inspirational role of party organizations.

It seems that there is now no longer any return to this past. As was stated during the conference, just since 13 December of last year [1981], as a result of impromptu verifications, more than 760 people were relieved from their positions, among them were 6 governors, 17 vice governors, 160 mayors and heads of gmina's, etc. The entire society is carefully following these decisions, for they determine the growing credibility and authority.

CSO: 2600/326

POLISH ENVOY TO BRITAIN SPEAKS ON WALESA, SITUATION

LD181944 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1910 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] The new Polish ambassador to Britain said today that Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa was receiving "special treatment" but was not under arrest.

Mr Stefan Staniszewski, who arrived in London on Thursday night, was speaking outside the Foreign Office where he met Lord Trefgarne, the junior minister responsible for Eastern European affairs.

He said on BBC television that when he left Poland the situation was "under control."

Asked about Wałęsa, he said: "I don't know exactly what has happened to him, but he has contacts with the government and other people.

"He is in Warsaw or near Warsaw, but he is not under arrest."

The Solidarity leader was not being detained, but was receiving "special treatment."

The ambassador has still formally to present his credentials to the queen, but because of the crisis formalities were largely waived and by mutual agreement he called on Lord Trefgarne.

After a 30-minute meeting with him, he had detailed discussions with senior officials from the East European Department lasting more than 90 minutes.

Officials recognised that Mr Staniszewski, coming straight from Warsaw, was in an excellent position to bring the government up to date on the crisis in Poland.

British diplomats in Warsaw are restricted to the boundaries of the city.

The Foreign Office confirmed today that the British Embassy has been told diplomats are not free to travel to major centres outside Warsaw where much of the trouble has been taking place.

So far, the Foreign Office has not taken any reciprocal action in London. This is in line with the government's general approach to the crisis which has not so far offered any condemnation of what is happening in Poland.

The Polish Embassy in London showed no surprise at the ambassador's early visit to the Foreign Office.

A spokesman said: "We would expect an early meeting to take place because of the situation in Poland."

CSO: 2020/29

'LE MONDE' COMMENTARY ON DISINTEGRATION OF PZPR NOTED

PMI81157 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Article by Michel Tatu: "What About the Party?"]

[Text] "The roots of the crisis in Poland did not lie in the cyclical changes in the situation but in the country's socioeconomic structure. The bourgeoisie, fearing the rise of the working class, leaned toward a limitation of parliamentary democracy and its replacement by an authoritarian government.

"Pilsudski, who had retired from official political life in 1923, took advantage of that situation to stage a coup d'état (12-24 May 1926) with the army's backing.... The coup, which was carried out with the avowed aim of cleaning up political life, was originally also supported by the disoriented leftwing parties...."

If "bourgeoisie" is replaced by party "nomenklatura" and the name Pilsudski is replaced by that of General Jaruzelski, Poland's present strong man, this quote from an official work published in Poland in 1966 (Note--"Poland. Realities and Problems" published by Scientific Editions of Poland in Warsaw in 1966), is now rather pertinent. It reminds us that Poland, much more than the other East European countries, has a military tradition, and that a government in uniform is not necessarily viewed unfavorably there. For the Poles 11 November is not only, as in France, the anniversary of the armistice signed at Rethondes at the end of World War I but also the anniversary of the triumphal return to Warsaw of General--shortly to become Marshal--Pilsudski, hero of the resistance against the Germans before being the hero of the victory against the Bolsheviks and also--as people tend to forget--one of the founders of the Polish Socialist Party at the beginning of the century.

As early as 1978 partiotic dissidents in Poland attached great importance to celebrating that anniversary as a reaction against the celebrations imposed by the party. As for the Polish military, they were to maintain power until the disaster of 1939. The only development worth noting, which is, moreover, in keeping with the scenario observed in military regimes in other parts of the world, is that power tended to pass from very senior officers to lower-ranking officers: After the marshal's death in 1935 the country's strong man was a certain Colonel Beck....

However, there is no need to refer to this precedent to put forward a hypothesis likely to have great consequences for the communist regime in Poland and also elsewhere. As we pointed out when General Jaruzelski became party leader, the military temptation is bound to emerge increasingly every time that a serious crisis shakes

a communist country. But it is also known that any army which seizes power anywhere finds it very difficult to abandon it. It is difficult to see why this should be different in Poland, especially if it is a question of handing back power to the totally discredited, impotent and divided party which the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] has become after the failure of the Gomulkas, Ciereks and Kanias.

#### The Party "Forgotten"

Moreover, General Jaruzelski does not seem particularly concerned, at least at this stage, with the "apparatchiks" who placed him at their head: He did not mention the party once during his 13 December speech except to appeal for cooperation from "workers who are not party members." This is a negative reference which is very indicative of his probable state of mind: "Liberals" and "dogmatists" are both being dismissed and pushed into the same obscurity.

As expected, that does not preclude praise for the benefits of "socialism"--a concept to be preserved as the legacy, if not a useful at least an inevitable one, of the former state of affairs. It is just that this "socialism" no longer needs its appointed protectors--the idle and hidebound ideologues of the previous teams. The army will assume that role along with the others.

That is certainly why the Moscow leaders, deep down inside, might be rather embarrassed. In the short term they are bound to be pleased to see--or hope to see--order finally restored in the neighboring country after the eruption of "counterrevolutionary anarchy." In the long term, however, it is the whole system laboriously established by decades of Stalinism in Russia and a third of a century of satellization in Eastern Europe which is teetering on its foundations. The idea that the party--and hence any party--has no clothes, like the emperor in the fable, that it is possible and even necessary to do without it in a catastrophe, that the armed forces are prepared to take over after living in the government's shadow for so many years, had never been so clearly illustrated.

#### "Cowardly Relief"

Of course, General Jaruzelski will be obliged to respect the forms. If he succeeds, he will have to maintain at least an appearance of party and Marxist ideology, without anybody being mistaken about the Marxist ideology, without anybody being mistaken about the real source of authority. If he fails, a new sphere of action will be opened up to the former PZPR officials, who will be tempted to win back power, but this time with the Red Army's help; the militia and police will not stand up to the Polish Army. To change course, therefore, the Kremlin would have to resort to an intervention which would be even more costly at all levels than the one it has refrained from carrying out for more than 18 months. Is it prepared to do this? In any case, the USSR will have to pay the price of its long period of inaction: either by an intervention which will be much tougher in the field and carried out with even less justification than before, or by an accommodation with a different kind of regime, probably anxious to keep order but impermeable to the imperatives of the traditional apparatuses, both rather too liberal on the domestic scene and rather too nationalistic abroad.

That is certainly why embarrassment is also evident in the Western reactions, especially that of the Americans. Let's not dwell on the "cowardly relief" felt by all those frightened by the effects of the Polish unrest on Western peace and quiet, on the secret satisfaction of those who automatically distrusted the Polish "anarcho-syndicalism" and its venture into direct democracy and "self-governing socialism." Aside from official ideologies, the solidarity among ruling governments and reasons of state create conditional reflexes which do not deceive anybody.

Furthermore, whatever the preferences, it is difficult to condemn a "military coup" whereby one de facto government replaces another de facto government. Not only would that give apparent legitimacy to the previous regime which was imposed on the population in just as undemocratic a way as the present one, but it would create an embarrassing precedent inasmuch as the Turkish and Greek putsches, not to mention similar cases in Latin America, were and still are largely tolerated by most capitals.

In these conditions the only option is not to "do nothing," as Mr Cheysson imprudently said, but to urge the Polish Government to resume the "democratic dialogue" which it claims still to be one of its intentions and to restore as many as possible of the freedoms won by Solidarity over the past 18 months.

The Western governments are not short of "levers" with which to demonstrate their concern. Although food aid cannot be used as a tool, since it goes directly (but it would be appropriate to check that) to a population which has been exhausted by months of shortages, economic and financial aid mainly benefits the government, especially by enabling it to escape repayment of its debt. It would, to say the least, be unjust to give the same treatment to a government which tolerated a broad area of democracy and one which has just launched into widespread repression of its population and their representatives. The fact that the two governments are led by the same man alters nothing.

CSO: 3100/307

## NZS POLITICAL ACTS ANALYZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by (r)]

[Text] One cannot conceive a good school without an independently functioning student self-governing body and youth organizations. This kind of self-governing body, elected democratically, began to come into existence in September 1981. Even earlier, in some secondary schools, at the suggestion of the Independent Association of Students (NZS) and Solidarity, there came into being all kind of the Student Renewal Councils (URD), renewal committees, etc. They were meant to become an ideological "bridgehead" for the NZS, a center for the training of the youngest cadres of this organization and the center of contest in the school.

In September 1981 organizers decided to centralize all these URD's and give them a uniform character, in order to control them better. In Gdansk a "Federation of School Youth" was organized. In a draft of its statute, that "federation" has included such tasks as "defense of fundamental values--of patriotism, tolerance and freedom of individuals," "creation of the network of independent publications and independent student libraries," "action to promote socialization of education," "suppression of mark as a motivation of learning," "control of entrance exams to secondary schools by members of federation."

In one of the appeals of that "federation," issued by its regional cells, one can read that "we are all anxious about the change in a situation in which the school administration is everything, whereas the youth is but a rag, which can be downtrodden." "The Interschool Committee" from Warsaw wrote that the membership of "federation" is open to any student who "is not an informer or member of a political or paramilitary organization; the organizations mentioned were the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth].

Thus, from official documents, signed with full names, we learn what is being proposed to students and to schools by members of the "federation."

The fight against teachers--for after all one should "defend patriotism" against someone, and the one who shapes it is not the minister but the one who is closest to the student, that is precisely his teacher--for the "abolition of marks" makes impossible not only the formal valuation of the student's work. We have learned that 16- to 18-year-olds are to "socialize school," which is indeed a mission of students,

who will relieve from this duty the teachers, parents and other adults. We have also learned that members of the "federation" will fight for tolerance, but that it does not include students who belong to scouting or to the ZSMP. We have learned likewise that students themselves, naturally from the "federation," will check up on who has the right to study in a secondary school.

Is it a dreadful stupidity of the greenhorns? One could treat these ideas with half-closed eyes, as the expression of a certain immaturity of youth. But behind it was political inspiration from the NZS and Solidairty--the attempt to set students against teachers, to disrupt the student community, the attempt to spread through one's own activists a whole gamut of anti-State pamphlets, the attempt at organizing protest or even strike movements and thus generating all kinds of conflicts and unrest.

Only a few students were taken in by the "federation" idea. Fortunately, that has minimized educational losses that otherwise would be caused about by this artificially generated movement. However, we should not underestimate the attempts at exerting an alien, ideologically and politically, influence on school youth, always exposed to catchy slogans that conceal false intentions and aims. That is why it is so important that responsible educators daily talk about all the arduous questions that interest students. That is why it is also so important that the youth could give real expression to its social passions and activities in the student self-governing bodies and youth organizations.

1015  
CSO: 2600/199

LACK OF REALISM SEEN IN POLISH TAKEOVER

PMI71425 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Dec 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Socialist Lack of Realism"]

[Text] Before martial law was ever decreed in Poland, the director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism asked the party to abandon its monopoly of power. He was heeded, probably more than he would have wished. The party no longer has a monopoly and there is even reason to wonder, in the present situation, whether it really has any share of the power. Whatever linguistic precautions might be taken in Warsaw to justify the event, it is a real coup d'etat which has taken place in Warsaw and the new body which the military describes as a "council for national salvation" is simply known as a "junta" in other parts of the world.

General Jaruzelski is certainly not wrong in saying that "the country is on the edge of the abyss," that "chaos and demoralization have reached the level of collapse." The prime minister is less convincing when he attributes responsibility for this "national catastrophe" to the Solidarity members, or at least to those he describes as "extremists."

But who is really to blame for this state of affairs if not those who imposed a regime to which the vast majority of the population is still clearly allergic and which has recently experienced complete bankruptcy? Once again it is being said that the structure is sound but that the successive teams in the building have made unforgivable mistakes. This time it is Mr Gierek and his closest aides who are the target. The leaders of the country in the 1970's have therefore been thrown into prison and are to face trial soon. What remains of the successive party leaders in the official version of history? A gallery of incompetents or scoundrels. It is a strange system which so constantly chooses the wrong senior officials.

Poland is suffering from the fact that it is forced to live a lie. It aspires to a complete sovereignty which reasons of state prevent it from demanding. Everybody in Warsaw asserts that no foreign power is interfering in the country's affairs but nobody believes a word of it. Until the grand shakeup in August 1980, official departments constantly said that the state belonged to the workers. Who still dared to claim that after Solidarity's emergence? Doctrine requires that the army be the tool of the party, but now the servant is having to take over from the faltering master.

POLAND

GENERAL STAFF OFFICER DISCUSSES MILITARY SERVICE UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19 Jan 82 p 5

[Interview with the deputy chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, Maj Gen (doctor) Antoni Jasinski, by Col Janusz Falkowicz: "Special Privileges of Persons Performing Active Military Service During Martial Law"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in bold face]

[Text] The flow of mail to this newspaper is greater than usual. Each day we receive many letters from our readers. These letters pertain to the present situation of the country and are dictated by a deep concern and desire to restore peaceful life and work. They also contain words of recognition for people in army uniforms for their sacrificial labor and devotion. There also are letters mentioning hardships experienced owing to the introduction of martial law, containing proposals for constructive action, for changes, for doing something new. Still other letters, chiefly from the families of persons doing active military service, pertain to various privileges relating to the performance of military service during martial law. /This is the topic we are discussing today with Maj Gen Antoni Jasinski, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army./

[Jasinski] During the period of the martial law, pursuant to the laws, all forms of military service binding prior to its introduction have been reassessed. /The basic military service done by conscripts, the military training of the graduates of civilian higher schools, and military exercises and periodic military service by reservists, all have been transformed into active military service being performed for an indefinite period and on the same principles as in the event of the declaration of a mobilization or in wartime./ Hence also, while the martial law is in force, persons doing active military service and their family members are entitled to special privileges.

On 12 December 1981 the Council of Ministers issued a special ordinance /concerning allowances due the family members of persons doing active military service while the martial law is in force./ Although at present we all perform such military service, the provisions of the ordinance of the Council of Ministers affect various categories of servicemen differently.

Pursuant to that ordinance, reservists who, prior to their summons to military service, were employed by state or cooperative labor establishments, /are entitled to receive from these establishments remuneration in an amount depending on the number of family members whose sole support these reservists are. Such servicemen

also are considered as being the sole support of persons receiving a child-rearing allowance./ If a serviceman supports, for example, two family members (wife and child), he is entitled to the aforementioned remuneration in full.

On the other hand, somewhat different privileges are extended to conscripts who, prior to their summons to active military service, were workers in socialized labor establishments and are the sole support of a wife and one or more children. The family members of such conscripts /are entitled to receive daily allowances to be granted and paid by basic-level local organs of state administration./ Applications for such allowances may be made by the servicemen personally or by authorized members of their families.

[Question] And what about the state's assistance to the family members of conscripts and reservists who are not employed in socialized labor establishments?

[Answer] Daily allowances are also granted on the same principles to the family members of conscripts and reservists who are the sole support of their families. They may be family members of servicemen who, prior to their summons to active military service, managed artisan, service, trading, or other establishments. They may also be family members of servicemen who, prior to their summons to that service, were temporarily not working for various reasons.

[Question] Active military service continues to be performed by a certain category of servicemen who, even prior to the introduction of martial law, were classified by the local agencies of state administration as the sole supports of their families...

[Answer] The families of these servicemen are entitled to monthly allowances just as prior to the introduction of martial law. These allowances are also granted and paid by local organs of state administration at the basic level. /The right to a monthly allowance also belongs to the family members of those servicemen who were classified as sole supports of their families after the martial law was declared./ The right to receive monthly allowances is also extended to cover the family members supported by the graduates of civilian higher schools who now perform active military service, regardless of the date of commencement of that service and classification as sole support of the family.

[Question] The ordinance of 12 December 1981 of the Council of Ministers concerning allowances payable to the family members of persons performing active military service during martial law also mentions compensation for housing rents and suspension of periods of repayment of loans, credit, etc...

[Answer] That is so, indeed, if active military service is performed over a period of at least 30 days. Pursuant to the provisions of the decree on universal military training in the Polish People's Republic, servicemen acknowledged as sole supports of their families receive compensation for paying rent for dwellings allotted by administrative decisions and cooperative-owned dwellings as well as for fees payable for privately owned cooperative dwellings.

During the period such servicemen are also entitled to a suspension of installment payments on loans received for making downpayments to housing-construction cooperatives or for the purchase of cooperative dwellings. It should also be emphasized

that /the loans and credits contracted for this purpose are interest-free during the period of suspension of their repayment./ During that period, the housing rents and maintenance fees of such servicemen are paid by the local organs of state administration. Moreover, /the family members of servicemen who cohabited with them prior to summons to active military service may not be evicted from dwellings occupied pursuant to administrative decisions./

Among other privileges granted to the family members of servicemen in active military service mention should be made of the legal protection of the working wives of servicemen. Labor establishments may discharge such wives when, and only when the fault is entirely that of the woman worker, or when the labor establishment has to be shut down.

[Question] Comrade General, at the time the martial law was introduced, persons performing military service included, among others, servicemen for whom the period of basic military service was extended in October 1981 pursuant to a separate resolution of the Council of Ministers. These servicemen are still in service. What additional privileges are they entitled to?

[Answer] They are particularly valuable servicemen, distinguished by their ideological maturity and highly civic-spirited attitude. Their rich experience, model discipline, and devotion shown in performing responsible tasks, make them a model and an example worthy of emulation. Many such servicemen actively participate in the local activities of operational groups active in cities, city-districts and gminas [parishes]. We can encounter them wherever things are at their most difficult and resolute and rapid action is needed. Generally speaking, they are performing [creditably] their special and specific service whose conditions resemble those specified for term-exceeding service in the decree on universal military training in the Polish People's Republic. Hence, too, they have been granted an increase in base pay and shorter required terms of service prior to eligibility for promotion to the next higher military ranks.

This special form of honoring and distinction also applies and will apply to all those servicemen whose term of basic military service expires during the period of the martial law. This category also includes members of OT [Territorial Defense] units as well as of engineer, railroad, and road troops.

[Question] The personnel currently performing indefinite active military service includes graduates of civilian higher schools who by the end of 1981 had already completed their 12-month period of military training...

[Answer] These servicemen who also remain in active military service deserve recognition and gratitude for their devoted labor and effort in performing responsible command and specialist functions in the basic organizational elements of the army. Even now many of them have availed themselves of additional privileges and special rights. To put it most simply, they are eligible for promotion to successive higher military rank--up to the rank of master sergeant inclusively. This, however, is contingent on their current service rank or function performed.

In addition, /reserve officer cadets who especially distinguish themselves while in practical training within military units as well as while performing active military service by achieving extremely good results in training or in performance

of command or specialist duties and who moreover represent in their persons a model moral-political attitude and strict discipline, are eligible for promotion to their first officer rank--that of 2d lieutenant./ Other graduates of reserve officer cadet schools who currently are in practical training within units will be eligible through a special act of distinction for appointment to the rank of 2d lieutenant also while performing active military service or upon the day of discharge from service and transfer to reserve status. It is worth noting here that promotion to a higher military rank also entails a corresponding increase in pay.

It is also worth noting that all other military personnel, including reservists performing active military service, who distinguish themselves in performing their duties, are likewise eligible for promotion to the next higher military rank. Aside from the personal satisfaction this provides, such promotion is linked with an increase in base pay. It should also be mentioned--which will certainly be of interest to all graduates of SPR [reserve officer cadet schools] and persons performing basic military service whose legal term of military service has expired during the period of the martial law, that they stand to receive appropriate exemptions from the performance of military exercises while on reserve status. This also applies to reservists who are currently performing active military service.

[Question] During the period of the martial law the possibility of receiving and using furloughs has been severely curtailed. But what about the human element, the emergence of the most unexpected situations? How are such problems resolved within the units?

[Answer] The heads of the Ministry of National Defense have attended to a proper solution of problems of this kind, which after all are extremely important in individual instances or when fate strikes. It has been generally determined that /emergency leaves will be granted in exceptional instances of this kind./ I wish to state at the same time that, insofar as possible, commanders and superior officers have the right to take under consideration not only accidents of fate and family situations but also other justified circumstances, especially as regards married servicemen.

[Question] Martial law will continue until the reasons for its introduction wither and disappear, until order, peace, and security reign in the country, and until the conditions for a normal functioning of life and work arise. In this connection, are appropriate measures being taken even now with respect to granting assistance to those who will be transferred to reserve status?

[Answer] The provisions of the decree on universal military training in the Polish People's Republic guarantee for all discharged servicemen reemployment at their previous places of work and in the positions they occupied prior to entering military service. We are aware of the fact that active military service is a rigorous testing and trial of soldierly values. Hence also all permanent values, enriched by the experience of hard military service performed under difficult and complicated conditions, must be appropriately credited in civilian work.

At present, however, something more than this is involved. It is the desire of the heads of the Ministry of National Defense that all servicemen for whom the term of military service has been extended and who have proved their worth during

this difficult period of restoring order to the fatherland and demonstrated ability to direct groups of people efficiently, and who have the proper organizing abilities, should be provided with the right conditions for utilizing their abilities in appropriate positions at labor establishments and in state and economic administration.

[Question] Some of the servicemen who will be transferred to reserve status after the ending of the martial law will undoubtedly want to enroll in military and civilian institutions of higher education. Will they receive any special preferences in this respect?

[Answer] All servicemen who intend to devote themselves to professional military service will be assured of admission to the military school they choose without having to take an admission examination./ Of course, provided that they satisfy the admission requirements, e.g., are graduates of secondary schools, are in good health, etc. As regards servicemen who will apply to civilian higher schools, on the other hand, the Ministry of National Defense is attempting to secure special admission privileges for them.

[Question] What else of interest is under consideration for helping servicemen who perform extended military service?

[Answer] The Ministry of National Defense wishes to be acquainted with the personal situation of every soldier performing extended military service. We wish in this manner to provide far-reaching assistance to every such serviceman when the time comes for him to settle down in civilian life. Servicemen who perform extended military service will fill out appropriate personal questionnaires. A special point here is that thus the voivodship military headquarters would be provided with full orientation as regards not only the employment possibilities but also the provision of assistance to discharged servicemen in obtaining jobs corresponding to the occupational or professional skills which they have or in which they received advanced training while in the military. Servicemen transferred to reserve status will be given certificates of appreciation, which represent suitable references for future employment./ I also wish to state that the Ministry of National Defense is negotiating with the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Services about the proper utilization of released servicemen in various civilian jobs.

Another quite important item of information for persons performing extended military service: /In connection with the existing supply problems on the market, attempts are under way to enable them to purchase civilian clothing on convenient terms./

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

1386  
CSO: 2600/263

ACTIVITIES OF VARIOUS MILITARY UNITS UNDER MARTIAL LAW DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by (K-ci)]

[Text] An atmosphere of great seriousness and universal discipline prevails in all units and garrisons of the people's Polish Army. Everywhere, literally at every step, one senses deep understanding of the special responsibility of the armed forces in the current situation--an understanding in evidence in the discipline exhibited and in the efficient fulfillment of every task imposed by superiors.

In numerous statements, discussions and commentaries, the common conviction is unequivocally expressed that the introduction of martial law was absolutely necessary in the national situation, that it was the only possibility left for saving socialist Poland in the face of the real danger of its socioeconomic ruin and the annihilation of the joint achievements attained by the entire nation over the postwar decades.

With great concentration, soldiers listened to the morning address of Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, who assumed the leadership of the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). The WRON, say the officers, warrant officers, regular army noncommissioned officers, officer cadets and other cadets and soldiers in basic service, can count on our full support. The people's armed forces exist to serve the nation, to serve it at all times and in every situation, to protect it against every external and internal danger. We have long expressed our anxiety over the fortunes of our country. Now the time has come for us to stand in defense of socialism, in this necessary way.

The universal hope is that society will once again give evidence of its collective wisdom, that it will comprehend the reason for the WRON and the introduction of martial law in the proper way and will support every action by the authorities and the state administration, as well as by all of the specially appointed services whose duty is to bring public law and order to the country and to check and liquidate all manifestations of anarchy and lawlessness feeding the fires of social unrest. Every person who holds dear the fate of his fatherland and who desires the good and the safety of Polish families should totally submit to the requirements that are temporarily binding, understanding that this is what must be done.

Universal support for the WRON under the chairmanship of Army General Jaruzelski is likewise expressed by the members and candidates of all PZPR organizations in the air force. The resolutions adopted by participants in open party meetings, which took place in all air force units and institutions, offer telling proof of this. We have always been and continue to be spokesmen for the solution of all social

conflicts through dialogue and understanding. However, forces inimical to our system, which long ago ceased to preserve even the appearances of intending a dialogue, openly contradict even the concept of political struggle. This is also why the current, very radical measures undertaken by the people's authority were essential.

The identical opinion was expressed by the parents, relatives and friends of the youngest and most junior in the Air Force unit, who made their solemn military oath last Sunday, 13 December 1981. All those awaiting the solemn ceremony heard Army General Jaruzelski's address, receiving the subsequent announcements concerning martial law with great attention. "We are the inhabitants of many cities and villages, emphasized the fathers and the mothers of the soldiers, "the employees of many plants. For a long time we have been waiting for decisive action to be taken by the authorities, because things could not go on as they were. It is high time that real law and order prevailed in Poland, that there set in the sense of individual and collective security and an atmosphere of quiet, productive work. Every true patriot every true Pole, must want this. As has been stated, our sons are embarking on the fulfillment of soldierly obligations in an extremely difficult period, in an especially tense situation. But we are convinced that they will execute all their duties in an exemplary manner, that their service and work will serve the fatherland well."

In the Higher Quartermaster's Services Officers School [WSOSK], on the day of the declaration of martial law, the officer cadets were given a series of important, responsible tasks. Many groups of officer cadets were directed to protect communications junctions and to patrol city-districts. A separate group made its way to the local radio broadcasting station in order to secure order and safety at this building.

Those subunits of officer cadets remaining at the school are fully prepared to act. The officer cadets and the cadets of the SPR [Reserve Officer Cadet School] listened to the radio and television address made by Army General Jaruzelski and to other information with concentration. Among the officer cadets were political officers and party activists, who clarified the difficult decisions that had been undertaken. As we are told by Col Boleslaw Bielan, the introduction of martial law was received by the soldiers of the WSOSK with full comprehension and approval, in an atmosphere of concern and seriousness, together with the full awareness of the lofty, historical responsibility that falls upon the armed forces in conjunction with the situation.

Plenipotentiaries--commissioners of the National Defense Committee [KOK]--were assigned from the officers' cadre. After receiving their full powers, these men immediately embarked upon their activities in the city and the gminas of the Poznan Voivodship. They include Col Wladyslaw Suplat and Lt Col Roman Mysliewiec. They are being assisted by several other experienced professional soldiers, including Maj Miroslaw Stawski and Master Sgt Wojciech Bombala.

In the early morning hours, the soldiers of the railroad unit of the Warsaw OW [Military District] listened to the radio address of Army General Jaruzelski in an orderly fashion. They received their orders and immediately began to execute their tasks. They drove the area to assume their posts on the railroad lines, at the stations, in traffic control and transport security and at viaducts and bridges. They worked efficiently, dependably and with discipline, just as they always had during practice training which prepared them to fulfill combat tasks.

The leaders of subunits, in the course of preparations, conducted discussions with the soldiers to explain the details of the tasks before them. The body of soldiers made its way into the designated regions of operation with calm, seriousness and a full sense of responsibility.

A group of officers from the unit assumed the functions of KOK commissioners. After receiving the indispensable documents, the officers, including Maj Witold Balut, Maj Boleslaw Kowal and Capt Stanislaw Nowak, went to the designated locations to undertake their duties. These locations were already familiar to them from their activities in local operational groups. Consequently, the solution of area problems will be easier in small towns and gminas.

At the Center for the Training of Political Officers, named for Ludwik Warynski in Lodz, the leadership-training cadre and the students, according to commanding officer Col Marian Anysz, received the news of martial law with total comprehension and approval. Everyone is convinced that this should have been done sooner in order to halt the action of extremist forces inimical to socialism.

Life in the school flows with its normal rhythm, although the sense of vigilance and preparedness is increased, of course. Personnel are taking part in securing important state and military buildings in the Lodz area and in patrolling the town. A part of the cadre has assumed the functions of commissioners of the KOK.

In the communications unit of the Silesian Military District, life and training are taking their normal course, despite martial law. The only signs of Poland's having entered a new stage are the external ones of the intensified patrols on the streets of the city and the soldiers' posts in front of state buildings.

As we were informed by Lt Col Zbigniew Andrzejewski, many families, friends and acquaintances of the young signallers came to the unit for the ceremonial taking of the military oath. In an atmosphere of seriousness, they listened to Army General Jaruzelski's address, which was rebroadcast within the unit following the ceremony. Among the professional cadre and the soldiers in basic military service there reigns the conviction that the decision to take decisive steps in order to restore law, order and public safety to the country was the right one. Some said that, in the face of broadening anarchy in the country and the epidemic proportions of the breakdown of principles of law and order, martial law should have been declared sooner.

Beginning Monday, the unit will implement the normal training program. The soldiers will continue their work on behalf of the national economy. Military operational groups will begin their next tasks of intervention, assisting city authorities and residents to overcome the difficulties of winter.

8536  
CSO: 2600/167

HIGH IDEOLOGICAL, MORAL STANDARDS SET FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9, 10 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Marian Nowinski]

[Text] As a consequence of the stepped-up activity of counterrevolutionary forces which has both deepened the crisis and thrust the country over the brink; in the face of the threat to the state which has arisen, and in conjunction with the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981, those soldierly duties which are stated in the second point of the form of the military oath have come to the fore, namely: "I promise to serve the fatherland as best I can, to steadfastly defend the rights of working people guaranteed in the constitution, to unyieldingly uphold the people's authority and to be loyal to the Government of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]."

Nearly a month has passed since the introduction of martial law in the country. In accordance with a proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation and an order issued by the minister of national defense, we see soldiers standing guard day and night at important state buildings and industrial and transportation facilities. When people turn out the light and go to sleep, the military patrols safeguard public order during the freezing nights. In the early morning, as we make our way to work or to the stores for purchases, we see these same soldiers--chilled to the bone and weary from lack of sleep, but conscientiously fulfilling their civic duties.

As they execute these especially responsible tasks, they give evidence of their total understanding of the dangerous situation that exists in our country. This is confirmed by their sense of proper discipline and their efficient and consistent action. They demonstrate extreme tact in their service contacts with the civilian population. Such are the soldiers of the PRL now, at the beginning of 1982, who give their all to save the fatherland. And they do this out of very noble, patriotic motives, the foundations of which are systematically and persistently laid during the course of their entire military service.

The young people who come into the military often prefer diversion and amusement to work and study, because these things are more pleasant for them. But after a time, a life squandered only in pleasures grows languid, creating conditions for the growth of demoralization. However, those newly incorporated into the military, from the first days of their service live under conditions which encourage and even force them to cast off their own infirmities, foster the inculcation of a

love for learning and work and promote the resolute overcoming of everything which stands in the way of the attainment of the conscious goals of military service. On the other hand, soldiers make use of diversions and amusements only for the sake of rest and so that, having refreshed themselves mentally and having regained their energy, they can enter into the reliable fulfillment of their tasks, their difficult tasks. For the service does not exist for the soldier to be relieved of his normal, so to speak, routine duties. It is the art of rising to the occasion of tasks within a complex situation, in the face of sudden, unexpected circumstances, under dangerous conditions, such as those which have arisen following 13 December 1981.

Soldiers of the PRL do outstandingly well under such unusual conditions. The question arises--how is this effected?

The intensive training conducted within the barracks and under field conditions, which is very tightly organized, is very important. Soldiers come to master combat equipment effectively, they were and are always ready to act under any conditions and they are able to make the proper use of the accomplishments of military technology. The intensive rhythm of their lives and the exertion demanded by military service are immeasurably important factors forming the attitudes of the soldiers in our people's armed forces. Such is the answer to the above question.

But we should add immediately that this answer does not exhaust the essence of the matter. Under the situation which has occurred during the past 16 months, and particularly after 13 December 1981, such soldierly skills as physical adroitness and mastery of the use of technical combat equipment have been and continue to be important, but most important are ideological and moral values, direction and consistency. This issues from a lofty civic-patriotic sense and from the conviction that exemplary service is necessary and essential for another prime reason--for the good of the nation. It issues from steadfast loyalty to the military oath and obedience to one's superiors.

Military instructors are vitally significant in the process of developing these civic soldierly virtues. These personnel include officers, political officers and party and youth functionaries of the military. Each of these possesses a rich store of professional and sociopolitical knowledge and skill, often including instructing capability, in his military specialization, and relevant to the position he holds. This ensures the good results of the training of subordinates. But more than this, soldiers of the people's army offer evidence that they possess the priceless values of high commitment to ideology and moral purity, as the current situation confirms.

The matter of developing ideological and moral . . . . . been and is, unchangingly, a primary task in the armed forces. Consequently, ideological-political activity is conducted systematically during the course of service, but such tasks are primarily carried out by party and youth organizations. For many years, the program of ideological training has been persistently implemented under the slogan: every professional soldier a trained Marxist.

Broadly conducted activity in the area of moral training has been closely linked with the above. The foundations of this have been and continue to be military

regulations and the entire system of issuing orders which establish the correct, precise organization of service, training, the operation of technical and combat equipment and work--they lay the foundation for the proper flow of military life. The process of the implementation of programs and tasks has always been accompanied by an exact, pedantic evaluation of the execution of duties by particular persons and groups of people and a thoroughgoing analysis of their efforts and the results they have achieved in their work, as well as by a careful review by group superiors to determine whether they are satisfied with their efforts.

This is a tremendously important aspect of pedagogical and moral activity, thanks to which soldiers are inculcated with a sense of duty and responsibility, fellowship and discipline--values which are essential for the achievement of what we define as "good work." And, as everyone knows, dependable work is the basis of our material existence and likewise becomes a source of pleasure.

The organizational aspect, which derives from regulations, is an important factor in human activity. Much depends upon the quality of organization, although it is not the ultimate determining factor of the results of an action. Moral motivation in the behavior of people and in their work is tremendously important. Not only are the armed forces aware of this, but every effort is made to ensure that the principles of socialist morality are rigorously observed in the life of the soldier.

For this reason, in addition to military regulations, the military has a compulsory moral code known as the "Principles of Professional Ethics for Soldier of People's Poland." The codified "Morals of Professional Soldiers of the People's Polish Army" also plays an essential role. The origin of both of these documents dates back many years when their preparation was initiated by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. Their contents have been expanded and enriched but, most importantly, they have become an important means for developing the high morale of the professional cadre, and indirectly of all soldiers.

Thus there arose an atmosphere of the social intolerance of any kind of morally reprehensible happenings and moral degeneration, which has always been and still is being maintained among military groups. Service representatives, echelons and party organizations, and entire military groups as well consequently have judged severely those who have committed excesses in the use of authority and other misdeeds which are harmful to the good of society or sully the military uniform. Such detrimental habits as alcoholism, which is most often linked with various excesses and leads to the development of improper interpersonal relations, i.e., cliques, have been and are being battled with determination.

Out of the consciousness of the fact that the moral purity of soldiers is invaluablely important to the attitude and the strength of the military, this question has been analyzed continually. And so, e.g., upon the 35th anniversary of the People's Polish Army, it is worthwhile to call to mind, the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense directed a letter "To All Soldiers in Active Service and in the Reserves, Civilian Employees of the Military and Members of Military Families." This letter presented the achievements of the armed forces, but at the same time it pointed out that this should not lead to complacency. Creative unrest should constantly be aroused so that one is moved to

give better service to the fatherland. High morale among soldiers helps foster this. For this reason, the EW MON by this 1978 letter initiated a great discussion in the military on the "Principles of Professional Ethics for a Soldier of People's Poland" and on the "Morals of Professional Soldiers of the People's Polish Army."

Both of these documents, which were emphasized in the letter, completely passed the test, having rendered good service to the cause of the armed forces. The experience and considerations accumulated during the course of their implementation have made possible the taking of another step forward, to deepen and strengthen their operation. The EW MON stated in its letter: "This fulfills the armed forces' need completely and satisfies their present-day maturity and their ideological, moral and cultural aspirations. Hence also our duty, as soldiers of the people's armed forces, is to do everything in our power to be equal to new, loftier tasks, so that a deep, patriotic socialist ideology and the ethical-moral values arising therefrom would characterize all soldiers without exception, and above all the military professional cadre."

The several months of discussion which have ensued over the EW MON letter have led to the further development of ideological-moral training instruction and to the enrichment of ties between the people in military uniform, ties which are best expressed in the saying known universally in the armed forces: "A soldier is a comrade-in-arms to a soldier." This means that superiors and subordinates alike have a good understanding of the sense and purpose of military service and consciously pool their efforts in its realization.

The many years of multilateral activity in the ideological and moral sphere have meant that, on that day of historic decisionmaking, 13 December 1981, the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski could say: "Our soldier's hands are clean, he does not know private gain, but hard work...he has served and serves the fatherland faithfully. He is always in the front line in every social need. Likewise today will he do his duty with honor."

For more than a month the Polish soldier has defended "steadfastly the rights of working people guaranteed in the constitution." Undoubtedly this surprises the political and troublemakers, the enemies of socialism.

With great ideological maturity, moral purity and civicmindedness, the soldier of the PRL offers new evidence of his sacrificial and loyal service to the nation and the fatherland and gains still greater social recognition.

8536  
CSO: 2600/237

ATTITUDES, ACTIVITIES OF RESERVISTS REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Mjr Adam Glowacki: "The Soldier Does Not Choose the Hour -- Reservists Active Again"]

[Text] One can talk about them with words full of pathos, about soldier citizens who considered it their constitutional duty, and first, most holy duty to defend the country, or, taking the idea from the ethical principles of professional soldiers one could say that at the moment of national need, they placed the good of the country above their own good, as among those in the front lines standing up to save the country.

Their attitude can also be defined more concisely, in military terms, that as soldiers they simply followed their military pledge which years ago they made to be faithful to the fatherland and to the nation, or in party terms, assessing that attitude according to the PZPR statute: "It is the basic duty of a party member to translate socialist ideals and principles into reality, to take an active part in the political life of the country, to perform honest work for the fatherland, to be faithful in the matter of patriotism and proletariat internationalism, and to fight everything which weakens socialist Poland or harms its interests."

Let us not become confused about the appeal made by the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, Gen of the Armies Wojciech Jaruzelski, an appeal which had an important impact on their decision. He said: "I am coming to you, my comrades in arms, soldiers of the Polish Army in active service and in the reserves. Be faithful to the pledge you made for better or for worse. The fate of the country depends on your attitude today..."

But let us get away from theoretical constructions, including suppositions in particular, and get down to the practical aspects as seen in the eyes of the people involved themselves.

### The Structure of This Decision

to put on once more the soldier's uniform, Col (academy graduate) Leszek Janicki says in explaining the motives of reserve officers, was influenced by all the above-mentioned factors. For more than a year we had been following with special attention the development of the sociopolitical events in the country. We observed with increasing uneasiness the more and more impudent actions of the "Solidarity" pseudounionists trying to dismantle the socialist state and to assume power. The numerous resolutions of our Union of Former Professional Soldiers was an expression of the negative attitude toward the phenomena taking place around us. In those resolutions we decidedly opposed all attempts to disrupt the country's security, domestic peace, and social law and order. We protested as citizens, as soldiers, and as members of the party. Hence, the accidental sum of values contained in this special sort of triangle became a standard of measurement of our attitude.

This is what I heard later while talking with a group of reserve officers just going off into the field: "We are back in uniform, because that is what the country needs. The importance of the moment requires it of us. Our minds and hearts call us to do it. This is why we ask you, if you still want to write about us, write the ordinary way, in human terms, because that is what our intentions are like, and that is what our everyday action is like. We took difficult work upon ourselves for the people and among the people, and therefore you should write not about us but about the meaning of soldierly effort and its social benefits, because the time has come that requires of people not words, even the most eloquent ones, but normal work, concrete action."

This little group of men no longer young is surprising by its vitality, commitment, and desire to support the country in its need in the most effective possible way. Despite their age and sometimes impaired health, to the extent of their strength and abilities they want to make a worthy contribution to the cause of improving the republic, of its socialist renewal.

### The Thirteenth Day of December

found them on merited retirement. Some of them, the youngest ones, were at their jobs. They were called from the reserves to active service at their own request. That very day they left home and family and put on their soldiers' uniform and went off to meet the reality of martial law. Yes, it is an old saying but true: The soldier does not pick the hour.

Nobody made them do it. They could agree to do it or not. It was their free will. The overwhelming majority of them accepted the proposal. There was no romanticism in them. It was just an ordinary soldierly thing.

Did they realize what they were getting into? And if such a question can be generally asked of a soldier -- they rejoin the journalist's doubt, and right away add: "We spent 30 years and then some in uniform as soldiers. Many of us were in combat and fought the Nazi invasion forces. We carried away the Berlin victory, the most marvelous in the history of Polish arms, and then we rebuilt the country with dedication and solidified the new socialist reality. Life experience has stated infallibly what such a group of soldiers means."

"Both I and my officer colleagues showed up for service in full approval for the extraordinary means which the Council of National Salvation undertook," says Col Julian Czternastkiewicz, recalling the memorable December morning. "We knew that the hour of the difficult trial had come and that we had to meet that test. None of us doubted for a single moment that his proper place was in close order."

#### Military Time Determines the Service

of reserve officers. It has no room for special rates, deals, or privileges. The only privilege is a day's work filled not with 8 hours but a dozen and more when needed, service which demands a high level of psychological and physical condition.

Temporary billeting region. Typical soldiers' halls. Small dayroom with a television set. Everything according to a strict agenda. Leave for home, to family, only with a pass. The officer-soldier reality of the everyday life of reservists is difficult.

The group consists of people who left the army some years ago, or a dozen and some years ago. In the recent past they had responsible leadership and staff positions, performed various sorts of training and upbringing functions. A certain percentage are disabled veterans and war invalids who gave their youthful years for their country. They are still available, still ready to contribute their knowledge, their rich experience in the service of the people's defense.

"Our basic task," says Col Dr Wladyslaw Siemaszkiewicz, "is the straightforward, in-depth monitoring of Warsaw commerce. Each day our control groups operate in the shops, warehouses, and storage facilities of the capital. We are especially vigilant in overseeing the transfer of goods from the storage facilities to the customer. The observations we have made do not put us in a very optimistic mood."

#### The Shock of the Capital's Trade "Shortfalls"

is of great social significance. It is enough to look at the service notes of Col Stanislaw Bialas, Col Mgr Engineer Feliks Smulko, or Capt Zygmunt Maruszewski in order to become convinced of this. The notes show that soldier control groups have their hands full. They take a hard look at the improprieties which have accumulated over the years. They reveal the evils of trade.

Facts, names, numbers. In the warehouses, hundreds of units of sought-after goods. In the wholesale centers, excessive stock. Empty shelves in the shops, and sometimes behind, the shelves in the staging areas bend under the weight of accumulated products. Pervasive among the employees is an air of commercial nonchalance, sometimes professional demoralization, lack of faith in the possibility of ending effectively all sorts of swindles, finagling, and ordinary theft.

At his desk, each day Lt Col (academy graduate) Bernard Sikorski, runs across dozens of audit notes and records revealing the details and particulars of these improprieties. Here they are sorted by subject and the seriousness of the individual event, and a detailed analysis is made of the phenomenon. Once the documentation is put in order and backed by concrete conclusions, it is sent via the Committee on the Defense of the Capital City of Warsaw to the capital's economic-administration authorities, so that the evil may be immediately eliminated.

The employees are kind to the officers doing the audits, but there are instances where their jurisdiction and authority are denied and they are prevented from learning the exact details of the problem. In such situations the reservists act very decisively and with great determination. More than one warehouse manager and shop manager became convinced of this in practice.

#### The Audits Represent an Opportunity for Dialogue

and frank talks between the officers and the employees of Warsaw trade. The range of discussion is very broad, from purely professional problems to general social issues right up to the most difficult ideological and political matters. In them there is room for heated discussion and controversial opinions. It is also time for civil reflection and for a sober, reasoned view of the future.

An obvious conclusion comes out of these talks: people want to break this tragic circle, because they cannot stand another repetition of history. They want a great Poland, great in its contribution, culture, forms of social life, and position among the nations of Europe. Despite everything they believe that the only way to this goal is socialism, accepted by the society, continually enriched by life experience. This is just the kind of Poland they want to build, to which they want to devote their efforts and abilities, and it is just such a Poland that they will defend.

Each successive day of martial law presents those who are again serving as reserve officers new, very complicated tasks and problems to solve. It shows their commitment to the cause, their civil concern for a better tomorrow for the country, their theory that they have not lost any of their old soldierly, party commitment, because where people talk about Poland and about our being worthy of it, it cannot be otherwise.

10790  
CSO: 2600/238

#### NEW AIRCRAFT REFERENCE BOOK CRITICIZED FOR INACCURACIES

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 11, Nov 81 pp 79-80

[Review by Col Kazimierz Stec of book "Polskie Samoloty Wojskowe 1945-1980" ["Polish Military Aircraft 1945-1980"] by Andrzej Morgala, published by the Ministry of National Defense, Warsaw, 1981, 486 pages, 135 zlotys]

[Text] This is the author's third book in the "Polskie Samoloty Wojskowe" ["Polish Military Aircraft"] series. The previous books discussed the construction of military aircraft of the 1918-1939 and 1939-1945 periods. This book closes the cycle by describing "all types of aircraft used in the Polish People's Republic aviation during 1945-1980".

These three books are a monumental work, whose value it is difficult to overestimate. By the broadest assessment, this is an excellent reference manual, indispensable for every airman and aviation-history buff. Although the book titles refer to Polish aircraft, actually their texts provide a tremendous amount of information also about aircraft of other countries, and also about the history of the development of aviation thought in Poland and the world. The author's decision to include this information is fully understandable if we consider the fate of Polish airmen during the periods discussed.

The last book is particularly valuable since in it the author discusses in a very specific way the most recent history of the Polish wings. This history, skillfully compiled, is contained in the descriptions of about 70 types (500 versions) of aircraft with which our military aviation had some connection in the postwar period.

The preparation of this work required tremendous work and comprehensive knowledge. It also required the cooperation, goodwill and assistance of many people and institutions, without which it most likely would not have been written. The author deserves a great deal of credit and thanks for undertaking and accomplishing this historical work.

I could conclude my introduction to this book with just those words, but I will not do so because I am convinced that a printing of 20,000 copies is simply too small and sooner or later it will have to be reprinted; therefore, a repetition of the observed transgressions, inaccuracies and errors, of which there were quite a few, cannot be permitted.

It is too bad that such a fundamental aviation work has been treated by the Ministry of Defense publishers so lightly, to put it mildly. Several rather unfortunate errors were not noticed until the book was printed. Hence the long errata. But many more were not corrected, and these are not simply editing or typographical errors, but what is worse, they are errors of substance.

Presumably this happened because the book had not been given to specialists of military aviation for their assessment. This may surprise the reader, but that is the truth, reflected on the fourth page of the text. Most likely the decisionmakers at the Ministry of Defense continue to believe that the best specialists in modern military aviation exist outside of aviation.

I have nothing against the consultant on this book. I have a great deal of respect for him and his knowledge. He is fully competent and deserves complete confidence. But I am aware that one person absolutely is not in a position to verify the text of such vast and diverse material. This book, of course, contains information from several scientific disciplines. It encompasses several thousand foreign names, abbreviations and types, which in many cases, even in the source materials, are described incorrectly. Hence my complaint against the Ministry of Defense publishers that they did not expand the group of advisors on this work.

Here are the most important errors and inaccuracies that I noticed in becoming familiar with this book:

--lack of consistency in describing the standing of aviation: once it is a combat arm, another time it is a type of armed force (page 7);

--incorrect breakdown of aircraft into groups. To say that in postwar Poland there were only two types of fighter aircraft (JAK-17 and JAK-23) is an obvious misapprehension. Classifying MiG-15, MiG-21, Su-7B and Su-20 into one group (multipurpose aircraft) does not appear to be correct;

-- I cannot understand why the author completely failed to describe the Il-2 attack aircraft and the JAK-7 and JAK-9p helicopters, although on page 4 the following appears: "The book gives the history of the development of Polish military aircraft used in the aviation of the People's Army in the postwar years. All kinds and types of airplanes and helicopters, as well as other aircraft built here and imported from abroad, are described."

I know that these aircraft were described in the preceding book covering 1939-1945. But why title the book "Polish Military Aircraft 1945-1980" when it really covers the period 1950-1978. Not everyone who bought the last book in this series has the preceding books.

--it has to be an exaggeration to write that the "MiG-17F was a light dive bomber,,, a fighter aircraft... a fighter-interceptor and a fighter-escort" (page 52). The same applies to the statement that the MiG-19 is "one of the best fighter aircraft in the world". Especially since on the following page appears: "The multipurpose combat aircraft MiG-19 is designed for fire-support operations and for intercepting enemy aircraft in the air."

--not all the facts cited are true. For example, on page 137 it is said that on July 22, 1966 military aviation opened the review: "The first to fly past was a group of 35 Il-28's, forming an impressive silhouette of a stylized eagle", but the drawing on page 96 shows an "eagle" of 33 planes, explaining that this was a training flight. In reality, it was just the opposite. At the 1,000th Anniversary of our country, an "eagle" of 33 Il-28's flew past.

--on some Il-10's there was an identification apparatus--not SzCz-3M, as was written, but SCz-3M (friend-or-foe);

--officially no distinction is made in the tactics of initial and subsequent operations in a tactical zone. And that is why a military reader is irritated by the statement that the Su-20 is "designed to give fire support to the land forces on the battlefield, to destroy enemy installations in subsequent operations, for reconnaissance, and to intercept and destroy aircraft" (page 113).

Another group of unfortunate errors pertains to the names of the pilots who made a name for themselves in the history of our wings. The name of Col (pilot, academy graduate) Stanislaw Wiacek was confused with Wiecek (page 21 and others), Maj (pilot) Stanislaw Lozowski with Lozowicki (page 33). Not all of the deserving pilots had the distinction of having their first names given, only their last names, despite the fact that they are still serving this country and fly modern equipment. This refers, among others, to Col (pilot, academy graduate) Stanislaw Blaszka, who led the vee-formation flight of Su-7B planes during the 1,000th Anniversary fly-past.

This small fact clearly contrasts with the author's conscientiousness in giving the full names of all those who somewhere took a photo of someone or something. I believe that always more distinction belongs to those who make history than to those who record it. This observation pertains not only to this book, but also to other publications and the daily press, in which the name of the photographer dominates and not that of the person photographed.

In addition to the errors for which the author alone bears responsibility, I noticed a number of editorial inaccuracies:

--in many cases Aviation Forces was written in lower case, while Border Guard was always written in upper case. This occurred even when it was obvious that a proper noun was involved, as for example on page 21, where "...commander of the aviation forces" appears;

--on page 82 appears: "thrust of a single engine lifts without afterburner...". This should read "without afterburning" since an afterburner in the aircraft discussed is an integral part of it;

--the abbreviations: "Gmr", "Umr" for guided and unguided missile rockets cannot be called anything but absurdities;

--the common error committed by parachutists: "landing on a parachute" and "falling on a parachute", was repeated (page 103);

--a lack of consistency was shown in the captions of many drawings. For example, on page 113 four silhouettes of Su-20's are shown, but the caption reads: "A silhouette of a plane..." The same applies to Il-14, Mi-4 and many other aircraft, particularly in the final part of the book.

Undoubtedly these are minor publishing errors, but in my opinion this is too large and too important a work to despoil it with such errors.

The very decidedly weak side of the book are the illustrations. Their quality, for the most part, is embarrassing. It appears that the printers, too, did not do a good job.

While writing the book, the author used many original sources. They include many technical descriptions and instructions for piloting specific types of aircraft. He drew also on "PRZEGŁAD WL I WOPK" [AVIATION FORCES AND NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE FORCES REVIEW] from 1961-1980. This is an honor for this monthly, but let me remind that the "REVIEW" did not get this name until January 1, 1974. Before that the monthly was called "WOJSKOWY PRZEGŁAD LOTNICZY" [MILITARY AVIATION REVIEW]. I would not make a point of mentioning this were it not for the fact that several items further in the cited bibliography the author listed "WPL", adding also that during 1947-1950 this was a bimonthly.

Despite the large number of comments I would like to say that this is a very valuable work, urgently needed and satisfying the public demand for such a publication. This book contains an honest compilation of the most important part of the postwar history of the people's Polish Aviation.

9295

CSO: 2600/226

TEACHER CHARTER PROVISIONS ADOPTED, INTRODUCED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jan 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by J Krasniewski]

[Text] As already said, the Council of Ministers adopted on 30 December 1981 Resolution No 276 concerning the introduction of provisions contained in the draft government bill on the "Teacher's Status Charter." This decision was taken in order to improve the state of education and upbringing and to better the work conditions of the teachers and class masters during the transition till the Sejm adopts the full text of the pertinent law.

The government authorized the minister of education and bringing to put into effect--in concert with other concerned ministers--certain provisions contained in the draft of the charter adopted by the Commissions for Education and Upbringing and for Legislative Work.

Using this authorization, the ministers of education and upbringing sent letters to superintendents of education, enjoining them to acquaint the schools and educational establishments both with the government's resolution and with the draft of the charter appended to the letters. The minister stressed the importance and urgency of the matter.

The ministry announced likewise that beginning 1 September 1983 the wages of the teachers and educators cannot be lower than the average wages of the engineering-technical workers employed in socialized industry.

Beginning with the 4th year of work persons employed in the educational system will receive fringe benefits for the years of service in the amount of 1 percent of the basic pay for each year of service. These fringe benefits cannot exceed 20 percent of basic pay. The periods of promotion to a higher pay grade are also shortened from 4 to 2 years.

The draft charter creates significant preferences for teachers employed in rural schools. Among others, beginning September 1983, they will receive a special monthly allowance of 10 percent of the basic month's pay. Teachers undertaking work in the countryside and in towns with population up to 5,000 will receive credit with the bank to start a household. Its amount and conditions will be established by the government.

The adopted solutions fulfill teachers demands and will counteract the lowering of the teachers' wages in relation to other occupational groups with similar education.

Some entitlements contained in the draft charter will be put into effect as 1 September of the past year. This concerns, for example, the renumeration for overtime work. As of 1 January 1982, educators with a minimum of 20 years of service will receive a 20 percent allowance for a full term of service. From the beginning of the current year, the jubilee rewards will also be paid in these amounts: for 20 years of work--75 percent of a month's pay; for 25 years of work--100 percent; for 30 years--150 percent; and for 35 years--200 percent. As of January 1982, the teachers are likewise entitled to the institutional award fund in the amount of 3 percent for 1981 and 8.5 percent for the subsequent years.

At the same time the minister of education announced that the provisions of the draft charter in collision with the "state of war," as well as the solutions that should be correlated with general principles of socialized economy will not be put into effect. This concerns, among others, the principles of cooperation of the government administration with trade unions, introduction of a 5-day-work week in the school, of retirement regulations and of social and housing funds.

In connection with this, in practice, alongside decisions contained in the draft charter, there will be in force only a part of regulations from the teachers' law adopted in 1972; viz. regarding retirement provisions; procedures for the appointment of superintendents, deputy superintendents, inspectors and deputy inspectors of education; and the social funds.

1015

CSO: 2600/196

ARRIVALS FROM WARSAW QUESTIONED AT ORLY AIRPORT

PM231031 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Dec 81 p 6

[Report by Pierre Georges: "At Orly, a Charter Named 'Rumors'"]

[Text] The man, one of the passengers on the Polish LOT airline flight 122 from Warsaw to Paris which arrived in Orly at 2230 on 17 December, recounted: "I was staying with some friends in Warsaw near the airport. I did not sleep between Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Aircraft were coming over constantly. The next evening I remarked on that to a neighbor, a magistrate who is an attorney in the capital. He simply replied: 'They were Soviet military aircraft, not commercial flights, and they took hundreds of Polish passengers on board, taken there by bus during the hours of curfew. Their destination was the USSR'."

The man swore that it was all true, that his attorney, a "responsible man," was not lying. Nor was he lying when he said that at least 4,000 to 5,000 people have been arrested in Warsaw itself since last Sunday. Is it true or false? It is apparently true as regards Warsaw and possible as regards the airlift between Moscow and Warsaw that night. As far as the rest is concerned....

It was clearly a charter named "Rumors" which landed in Paris on Thursday evening from a country where true information is no longer available. Amid formidable pushing and shoving, the 15 or so passengers who had agreed to face the journalists told what they knew, or thought or imagined they knew, while more than 100 others fled through the emergency exits. In other words, what they said did not amount to much; it was a constant mixture of experience and hearsay, impression and rumor, the desire to talk and the concern not to disappoint people.

That does not necessarily make for reliable information, but it made it clear that the Polish Government has been totally successful in one sphere since Sunday--that of fragmenting the truth. "What do you expect?" one Swiss journalist returning from Warsaw said: "What have people been doing there for the past 4 days? They have been exchanging the rumors which everybody has collected. People can no longer travel, there are no telephone links, no newspapers aside from the uniformed press; letters are banned. How can people know exactly what is happening? And then, any attempt to obtain information endangers the people from whom you are requesting information."

This is what was said, although in a different way, by a young man, a student at Warsaw's French High School, who was being pursued by a group of "agents" looking for shock photographs: "Photographs, sure, but it was announced over there that anybody caught taking photographs would immediately be sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. So...."

Nonetheless, through the eyewitness reports various constants emerged which can be described as information. First, the surprise effect of the coup between Saturday night and Sunday morning. Witness an Algerian traveler: "I caught the train at 0530 Sunday morning in Warsaw to go to Krakow. After a while the train stopped in the middle of the countryside for 90 minutes. Militiamen boarded. We set off again for Krakow. And there the militia took off the passengers in handcuffs. I was then told that martial law had been imposed and that in fact became obvious. The streets were full of soldiers and armored vehicles. In Krakow on Monday and Tuesday pamphlets were distributed. The stores all stayed closed but I saw no other arrests. I suppose they were carried out during the curfew."

A Frenchman gave the following evidence about a region which he refused to identify: "On Saturday I was out at the home of some friends until 0200. I saw nothing in the streets. It was only at 0800 Sunday morning that I learned of martial law, that telephone links had been cut and so forth. People very quickly wanted to know what was happening and started visiting each other. That was how people learned of the very numerous arrests. Some were warned in time by women or children and went into hiding. It was the militia who carried out the arrests, not the army."

Finally there is the evidence given by a young boy, son of a technician at the French Embassy: "On Sunday morning I was at the house of some friends when the embassy radio put out an urgent call. Shortly afterwards Polish soldiers appeared outside the buildings to carry out checks and prevent anybody from taking refuge there. I also saw militiamen at the Solidarity headquarters and then large numbers of soldiers in the streets and armored vehicles, but no tanks."

The second main theme was the scale of the arrests. All the people questioned at Orly were unanimous. The militia and police arrested thousands of people between Saturday night and Sunday morning: workers, students, trade unionists, university teachers, enterprise cadres, writers, artists, journalists, scientists, former party leadership members; they took away everybody. That is what is so unbelievable: to have been able to plan such an operation without anything leaking out. "In Warsaw everybody feared it but nobody believed it would happen," a Polish-born Frenchman said. And according to another witness: "They have really decapitated Solidarity." None of the travelers questioned was able to give figures, but all spoke of a "real roundup" on the basis of secondhand or personal information. As for where the people arrested are "interned...."

Finally, the third point is fear. Fear, or at least apprehension, has obviously become common in Poland, according to reports, at least in human reports. "Warsaw is now a sad city in a false state of calm," according to somebody who knows the city. "People no longer talk to you in the street, especially if you are a foreigner. That does not mean that they are resigned, quite the reverse. There are many signs which show that things are seething. There are the Solidarity pamphlets distributed

by hand or posted on walls and which specialized militiamen systematically tear down. There are calls for a general strike. When we left, a general strike had been called for Saturday 19 December and is likely to be very severe. There is also passive resistance; for instance, people are going sick and producing convenient medical certificates. Finally, there is social action, strikes and occupations."

On that point the statements gathered at Orly are essentially limited to rumors. Everybody said what they had heard rather than what they had seen. Gdansk, Wroclaw and Silesia are so far from Warsaw. Only one witness gave some detail: "In the region where I was staying four factories were occupied on Sunday, one of them by several thousand workers. They were all 'pacified' in turn, to use the official terminology, each time the sirens blew to signal the abandonment of the occupation. But that happened without any visible clashes. It now remains to be seen whether the workers will go back to work. However, it seems to me that another factor is at work aside from fear. Solidarity is no longer followed to the extent that it was 1 year ago. That may come as a surprise, but among a section of the population there was a kind of appeal to the army, a demand for order to be restored—a desire mainly based on food shortages. Solidarity has lost a considerable amount of prestige over that. That is why I think that it would be hasty to say that there is massive resistance from the population."

Of course, that is provided that events do not take an irreversible turn, because although the suggestion that people had been killed in Poland was still mere rumor on the Warsaw to Paris flight, it was no longer just rumor when it arrived.

CSD: 3100/298

BRIEFS

RZESZOW SCHOOL REOPENINGS--From Rzeszow we are informed that on 1 February studies were resumed at the Ignacy Lukasiewicz Technical University and at the Rzeszow branch of Lublin's Maria Curie-Sklodowska University. The new rector of the technical university is Prof Stanislaw Koncewicz, former head of the Department of Chipless Technology. [Zaklad Technologii Bezwirowych] in the Faculty of Mechanics. [Excerpts] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Feb 82 p 6]

ZSMP VOIVODSHIP MEETING--The 2d plenum of the Kielce Voivodship Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] took place with the participation of the ZSMP Main Board chairman, Jerzy Jaskiernia. The first secretary of the PZPR Kielce Voivodship Committee, Maciej Lubczynski, also took part in the deliberations. The meeting inaugurated a nationwide campaign in all ZSMP elements under the slogan "What kind of Poland, what kind of union..." Discussion is to include not only all of the organization's communities, but also wide masses of young people from outside the union. The goal of this discussion is the formulation of an answer to the question of what kind of role the ZSMP should play in the country's extrication from its crisis, in the overcoming of daily difficulties, and in the formation of the future of People's Poland. [Tadeusz Wiacek] [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Feb 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/320

ROMANIA

PARTY'S VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 81 pp 29-32

Article by Constantin Florea

Text Unity and solidarity have always been basic requirements for the victorious struggle for freedom, democracy, peace and social progress, but their role and importance were never greater than they are today. This situation is due to a number of factors, including the extensive and radical changes that have been made in the last few decades on the national level and also in the world balance of power, the increasingly powerful advance of the forces of socialism and other democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces, the greater role of the national as well as international factors in contemporary social development, and the extreme, unprecedented complexity and gravity of the problems facing all mankind.

The masses are the basic motive force of material and cultural progress and the decisive factor for the socioeconomic and political evolution of every country and of humanity as a whole. They have the necessary capacity to renovate society and to establish a climate of peace and security wherein every nation will be free to develop according to its will and vital interests. But the realization of this possibility directly depends upon the concerted and united efforts of the peoples and all the progressive forces.

The idea of strengthening solidarity and cooperation in the struggle against the anachronisms of our time, against the policy of armament, force and domination, and on behalf of a peaceful and happy future runs like a red thread through President Nicolae Ceausescu's new and brilliant initiative for peace in Europe and the whole world. This initiative is manifested in the Appeal for Disarmament and Peace of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, a resounding call to the Romanian nation and all peoples of the world to combine their efforts and act in close unison on behalf of the calm and peaceful work and the life and liberty of all mankind. As the RCP secretary general pointed out in his speech at the Joint Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development of 25-26 November 1981, "Now more than ever it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and collaboration among all progressive, anti-imperialist forces and among all peoples favoring disarmament and peace. Experience is demonstrating more and more emphatically that the power of the peoples to stop the armaments race and the policy of tension and to achieve collaboration and peace is invincible."

The RCP's policy of strengthening collaboration and unity with the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces everywhere and with all peoples is based upon an advanced, revolutionary and radically innovating conception, and the party secretary general and president of the republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, is making a decisive and vital contribution to its development and promotion. The course of historical events and experience bear witness to the validity and correctness of this policy and its guiding conception and demonstrate its agreement with the requirements of our time, with the aspirations of the Romanian and other peoples, and with the interests of the general cause of socialism, progress and peace.

The RCP bases its whole conception of international solidarity upon the Marxist principle of complete unity between patriotism and internationalism and between national and international obligations. The main demand upon a revolutionary party is to organize and lead the struggle of the masses in its own country for social and national liberation, for democracy and progress, and for socialist and communist construction. Every party is responsible to its members, the working class and its own people for attainment of those goals and for its entire activity. As it succeeds in this task it also fulfills its main obligation to the international revolutionary movement and to the general cause of socialism, progress and peace. Historical experience tells us that defense of one's own people's interests and complete fulfillment of the national aspirations, independence and sovereignty of every nation not only do not conflict in any way with international solidarity but on the contrary are primary factors for its consolidation and essential requirements for internationalism and development of relations of close collaboration and cooperation among all peoples of the world and among revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere.

International solidarity has a definite content in every given historical stage, while its objectives, criteria and the forms it takes depend upon the stage of social development, the balances of power established in the world, and the trends and directions of social and political evolution. Therefore the RCP begins with in-depth analysis of the major processes and innovating trends characteristic of the contemporary period in its examination of the present features of international solidarity as well as in its practical effort to strengthen collaboration and unity with all revolutionary and progressive forces and with all peoples of the world.

Socialism has become a vast world force in the last few decades. By virtue of the progress made in economic, scientific and cultural development, in building and consolidating the new order, and in promoting a foreign policy of collaboration and peace, the socialist countries are emerging as a major force for historical progress, detente and peace. Meanwhile new social and political forces as well as more and more peoples are asserting their will to abolish exploitation and oppression of any kind and are declaring themselves for a socialist development.

One highly significant characteristic of our era is the downfall of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of dozens of new nations and peoples who have established independent states and are rising more and more resolutely against the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy in defense of their sacred right to independent development and to consolidation of their economic and political independence. The new sovereign states and the developing and unaligned countries are exerting a growing influence upon international affairs and present-day social development in general.

As the most advanced social force, the working class is playing an ever greater role in the renovation of society and in the struggle for a policy of peace and progress. A process is going on of constant growth and maturity of the communist parties and their assertion in more and more countries as national political forces enjoying the sympathy and support of the broad masses and playing an important part in the respective countries' affairs as well as in the international arena. Meanwhile the socialist and social-democratic parties are performing an important role in many western countries and in current political affairs in general, and they are functioning as government parties in some of those countries.

Alongside the working class, the peasant masses, the intelligentsia, women, the young generation and the middle strata of society, who are participating more and more in the social and political struggles, are also among the forces for progressive social development, against wars, and for detente, peace and disarmament. The national liberation movements and fronts as well as the progressive government parties in the developing countries are playing an increasing role in the world today. There are also democratic parties in various countries that advocate progressive development of their peoples and play an important part in national affairs, especially as government parties. We must also mention the increasing influence upon the modern world of the general-democratic movements and forces, who are taking an active part in defense of national independence and sovereignty, against the policy of force and aggression, for stopping the armaments race and accomplishing disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and for peace and international collaboration. In our times increasingly wide circles and strata of the most varied political, philosophical and religious convictions and persuasions, important representatives of public life, some of the most outstanding personalities of science and culture, and more and more political leaders and statesmen with realistic views are advocating a new international policy and preservation of peace. The unprecedented extent of the movements for peace and disarmament in Europe and other areas of the world shows that the great problems of maintaining and defending peace are becoming more and more a major concern and a cause of many hundred millions of people and of increasingly broad social and political forces.

The concept of international solidarity, as well as the corresponding political activity, must be adjusted to the new social and national realities and the great structural changes that have taken place in the world and freed of any dogmatic, sectarian or exclusivist trends. The existence of great social-political forces, very different in their class composition but all objectively interested in renovating society and solving the great international problems, is a basic objective reality of our era. Under these circumstances international solidarity takes on a far richer content than in the past, and it is constantly enlarging its field of activity, which can no longer be limited to some of these forces however great and unquestionable their importance and contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress may be.

The MCP feels international solidarity must be all-inclusive, broad, and widely open to all social and political forces advocating freedom, peace and the progress of the peoples. It accordingly involves strengthened unity and collaboration with the socialist countries, the communist and labor parties, the socialist and social-democratic parties, the progressive government parties in the developing countries, the national liberation movements, other progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist parties and organizations, with all forces for peace and progress, and the peoples everywhere. Of course it is necessary to secure a unity in diversity by respecting the political independence and characteristic identity of each of the forces, movements and organizations participating in the common struggle and by consistently placing the relations among them on a new basis of mutual respect and full equality of rights.

None of this means that the working class has ceased to be the most advanced and revolutionary social force of our time or that the slogan "Proletarians in All Countries Unite!" launched in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" is outmoded. On the contrary, the appeal of Marx and Engels is more current than ever, but the new historical situation and the demands of our times make it necessary to supplement the appeal of the founders of scientific socialism, as Nicolae Ceausescu said, with the following appeals: "Peoples in the socialist countries, unite in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism, for full assertion of the principles of socialism, and for its greater prestige in the world!" "Oppressed peoples and progressive forces everywhere, unite in the struggle for abolition of imperialism and colonialism, for national freedom and social progress, and for every nation's free and independent development!" "Workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, youths, progressives and democrats, unite for social progress and a better and more just life!" "Socialist countries and peoples throughout the world, act in the closest unity for detente, collaboration and world peace!" Such a broad and comprehensive interpretation of international solidarity can strengthen the assertion of its power and influence and further its role in the implementation of the aspirations of the working class, all progressive forces, and all mankind to a more equitable and rational society and to progress and peace.

Development of friendship and collaboration with and among all socialist countries and formation of the new kind of relations among all countries committed to building the new social order are essentials of the policy of international solidarity. Strengthening the socialist countries' unity and solidarity is vital to socialist and communist construction in each of these countries, to the further advance of socialist ideas in the world, and to the triumph of the policy of independence, detente and peace.

It is a fully demonstrated fact of life that relations among the socialist countries can develop successfully only on the basis of full equality of rights, mutual respect for national sovereignty and independence, exclusion of any interference in the internal affairs of other states, mutual benefit, and all-around solidarity and friendly mutual aid. Consistent application in practice of all those principles, which form a single whole, guarantees further consolidation of friendship and collaboration among the socialist countries and constitutes one of the main ways the new order can demonstrate its superiority and enhance the prestige and authority of socialist ideas in the world.

The principles of the new kind of socialist relations include, to be sure, qualitatively new elements in the practice of international relations (mutual aid, militant solidarity and friendly collaboration), but they are not and cannot be in conflict with the general principles and standards of international law, which are universally valid. On the contrary, so far from "replacing" or "contradicting" those principles, they are intended to secure the complete and consistent application of the long-standing principles of international law and legality (which principles had only a curtailed, partial and limited application under the old world order), to serve as a model of relations among states, and to set an encouraging example to all peoples in forming new and truly democratic international relations based on equality, mutual respect, and friendly collaboration in the framework of a new world economic and political order.

Like any extremely complex social process, formation of new relations of the socialist type is not without difficulties, errors and contradictions. In view of the very

diverse economic, social and political conditions under which the new society is being constructed and the highly contradictory developments in the world arena, some differences of opinion among various socialist countries on one problem or another of socialist construction or international affairs are to be expected. But as the RCP has repeatedly pointed out, the interests of socialism and peace require all the socialist countries to make every effort to eliminate the existing contradictions and disagreements by means of direct discussions and meetings among the countries concerned. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, we feel the socialist countries' solidarity and unity should be strengthened "by overcoming the existing differences in the interest of successful socialist construction in each country and of the general cause of socialism, peace and collaboration in the world."

Meanwhile it is a major aim of application of international solidarity in the present stage to establish a new kind of unity of the communist movement, a unity that must always be based upon full equality of rights, mutual respect, the right of every party to develop and promote its domestic and foreign policies independently as well as its revolutionary strategy and tactics with no outside interference, and friendly collaboration and solidarity.

The RCP's conception of the new kind of unity of the communist movement is based upon consideration of the vast and increasingly pronounced diversity of conditions under which the communist parties operate. This makes it necessary for the revolutionary parties to develop their strategy and tactics in the light of the particular realities and to apply the general truths and fundamental principles of scientific socialism creatively according to each country's situation. In view of the extent, complexity and diversity of the problems confronting the communist movement today, it is neither necessary nor possible to organize any administrative or coordinating center to determine "general policies" or "uniform strategies" binding upon the communist parties. Determination of political policy and choice of ways and means of action are each party's sole problems and inalienable rights. These rights do not in the least conflict with solidarity among parties or development of broader and closer collaboration among them in the struggle for democracy, socialism and peace. On the contrary, there is a complete unity between promotion of each party's independent policy and permanent development of the revolutionary parties' unity and solidarity on a new basis.

International solidarity calls for an active approach to the peoples' struggle for social progress and national liberation and a firm stand against the imperialist export of counterrevolution and the colonial and neocolonial policies. It is equally clear that the principle of noninterference cannot mean passive indifference to the revolutionary struggle of the masses in various countries. But all this cannot and must not lead, under any pretext or in any form, to replacement of the internal forces or the masses' struggle in any country by action of the revolutionary forces in the other countries or by the intervention of any outside elements. Solidarity can and must take various forms (economic, political, ideological etc.), but it cannot and must not mean, in any case or circumstance, export of revolution or interference in the internal affairs of other parties or other peoples. International solidarity must be firmly based upon observance of national sovereignty and independence and every people's guaranteed right to determine its own fate and course of development. Complete confidence in the ability of every people and every revolutionary party to overcome any obstacles to the revolutionary struggle by their own forces, to renovate society, and to construct socialist and communist society is a basic requirement of international solidarity. It is necessary to avoid all that can impair unity and

always to emphasize what unites the communist parties, namely the basic common interests of the struggle for the cause of socialism and peace and the common ideology of Marxism.

Another important aim of strengthening international solidarity and collaboration in our times is to develop new relations of unity and collaboration among communists, socialists and social-democrats and among all labor parties and organizations and to build the unity of action of the working class on that foundation. Accomplishment of that major aim and ultimately that of the historical reconciliation between communists and socialists must be based upon what unites the labor parties and organizations (communist, socialist, social-democratic, Catholic etc.), and efforts must be made on both sides to reach unity and collaboration in the struggle for democracy, peace and progress.

Increasingly favorable objective and subjective conditions for unity are combined today, namely the growing influence of socialist ideas, the new balances of power in the world, the aggravated crisis of capitalism, and the presence of many objectives of common struggle on the basis of which programs and platforms for united actions can be devised. Of course the dialogue and unity of action cannot be successfully achieved without observance of every party's autonomy and individuality, on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual understanding and respect. The experience of the RCP and other parties indicates that it is only by acting in this spirit that the obstacles that still obstruct unity can be overcome and successful progress can be made toward restoring the unity of the international labor movement, which restoration is required by the entire development of the world of today and by the interests of socialism, peace and progress.

International solidarity cannot ignore the great problems now facing the peoples of the world, global problems of general, universal concern with implications that directly affect the struggle for revolutionary and progressive social reform. In our times the internationalist spirit calls for a high sense of responsibility for the destinies of all mankind and all peoples of the world as well as active participation in the democratic solution of those problems in keeping with the interests of every people and their right to peaceful and independent development. This is especially true at present, when international affairs remain in a state of great tension and the armaments race, and especially that of nuclear armaments, are assuming new and unprecedented proportions in Europe and in the world and gravely threatening world peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples. Under these circumstances the closely united efforts of all European peoples are becoming vitally important, as well as their strengthened solidarity and collaboration to succeed in the struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons of any kind from Europe, to achieve disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, and to establish a lasting peace on the continent and throughout the world.

Solidarity and close collaboration with the social and national liberation movements and with all peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and the policy of force and armaments and on behalf of independent development, elimination of underdevelopment, construction of a new international economic order, cessation of the armaments race, general and especially nuclear disarmament, true democratization of relations among states, observance of every people's right to freedom and self-determination, elimination of the threat of new wars, and consolidation of peace, detente and security throughout the world -- those are the basic objectives that can and must be actively supported in close unity by the socialist countries,

the communist, socialist and democratic movement, the working class, all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces, and the peoples and nations everywhere. That is one of the most important requirements of international solidarity under the present circumstances. As the party secretary general said, "That is why internationalism cannot be limited to only one aspect, however important it may be, but must be understood and applied in the whole complexity and extent of its significance. Therefore it can be said without fear of error that the concept of internationalism calls for active participation in the democratic solution of all the complex problems of the world of today in keeping with every people's interests, as well as the strengthening of militant solidarity with all progressive and anti-imperialist forces."

Acting in full accord with the basic policies expressed in the RCP Program, in the documents of the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th party congresses, and in Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, the RCP is resolutely promoting a policy of extensive collaboration and close international solidarity with the communist and labor parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with the national liberation movements and the progressive government parties in the developing countries, with other revolutionary, progressive and democratic parties and organizations, and with the anti-imperialist forces everywhere, and it is taking consistent action to strengthen the unity and collaboration of all those forces as well as their active solidarity on behalf of the increasingly strong assertion of the progressive ideals and aspirations of all peoples.

The policy of wide receptiveness to the progressive and advanced forces everywhere, of collaboration and unity with all those forces, and of cooperation with all peoples is specifically expressed, via the state, in Romania's widespread international relations. Romania is developing relations of collaboration and solidarity with all the socialist countries and especially the neighboring ones and expanding its ties of friendship and collaboration with the developing and unaligned countries as well as its connections with the developed capitalist countries and with all states regardless of social order. All of Romania's foreign relations are based firmly upon the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, abstention from the use or threat of force, and every people's right to self-determination.

In the spirit of high responsibility for the destinies of the Romanian people and for the general cause of peace and progress, Romania is promoting a policy of active participation in discussion and solution of the problems facing mankind. Taking consistent action to establish a climate of true security in Europe and the whole world, to achieve disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, to consolidate detente and peace, to eliminate underdevelopment, to build the new international economic order, and to democratize international affairs, the RCP and the state are fulfilling a major national obligation as well as an international obligation vital to the destinies of all peoples.

From the high rostrum of the 12th RCP Congress Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the RCP will perform its role quite resolutely in the future too as a revolutionary detachment in the struggle for a new policy of progress, peace and detente and of security, disarmament and extensive collaboration and unity with all progressive and democratic forces and with all peoples and nations.

The RCP has expressed its conviction that in closely united action the peoples have the necessary strength and capacity to bring about revolutionary, progressive social

reform and to give the evolution of international affairs a new and democratic course toward detente, disarmament and peace. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "As for the Romanian people, they have quite resolutely pledged themselves to strengthen collaboration and solidarity with all peoples in the noble struggle to secure the peoples' right to existence, to peace, to freedom and progress, and to life. And we are convinced that the victory will be on the side of the masses and the peoples."

5186

CSO: 2700/158

## UNITED STRUGGLE WITH SOVIETS AGAINST NAZIS RECALLED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Oct 81 pp 1797 . . 3

[Article by Gheorghe Zaharia: "Reprovable Acts Paid for Early by the Peoples"]

Text Four decades ago, early in the morning of 22 June 1941, Hitler's Germany attacked the USSR by surprise, thus violating the political treaties concluded in 1939 by the Soviet government with the Berlin government--the nonaggression treaty, on 23 August, and the friendship and border treaty, on 28 September--which had regulated Soviet-German relations up to then.

Through this new aggression, the Nazi leaders put into practice the initial and essential idea of their aggressive policy, presented in "Mein Kampf": southeastern Europe, the Ukraine and Russia to the Ural. The conquest of this rich zone and the control of vital European centers, of great strategic importance, gave Nazi Germany's leadership the prospect of absolutely dominating Europe and of moving the war to other continents.

As a result of the Soviet-German talks in November 1940 in Berlin and of new specifications and proposals made later by the Soviet government regarding the relations between the two states in the future,<sup>1</sup> Germany's leaders came to the conclusion that "the USSR represented the main obstacle in the way of carrying out the fascist plans of gaining world domination."<sup>2</sup> In consequence, they expedited the finalization of the Barbarossa plan of attacking the Soviet Union, whose execution was to begin on the morning of 22 June 1941, on the basis of "Directive No 21," signed by Hitler on 18 December 1940, which specified, in essence, the annihilation of the Soviet forces in "western Russia" and a rapid advance to the Volga-Arkhangelsk line. The industrial base in the vicinity of the Ural Mountains was to be destroyed by aircraft. The important strategic objectives that were to be captured were Leningrad, Moscow and the Donets Basin. The main forces were aimed toward the USSR's capital. The plan also specified that the offensive was to be carried out in three main directions: from East Prussia, in the general direction of Leningrad; from the east of Warsaw, in the general direction of Moscow; and from the Lublin zone, in the general direction of Kiev.

Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Finland were alongside Nazi Germany.

The total forces deployed by the German command at the start of Hitler's anti-Soviet war amounted to 190 divisions (including 157 German ones), with approximately 5 million men, 3,140 tanks, over 50,000 cannons and mortars and over 4,900 airplanes. At

that time, the Soviet Union had armed forces totaling 4,207,000 men, spread to the borders along wide fronts and inland.<sup>4</sup>

Through strong attacks made by surprise, the German aircraft and armor caused big losses to the Soviet troops in the border zone. The attacking forces, numerically superior, forced the units above regiment size and the advanced units of the Soviet border military regions to withdraw. Pressing along the whole front between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, Hitler's troops penetrated deep into Soviet territory: 750 km in the direction of Leningrad, 700-800 km in the direction of Moscow and between 600-850 km to the south.

Overestimating the results obtained, Hitler's command felt that the Soviet troops in the country's western regions had been crushed and that the way to the main strategic objectives was open.

Soon, however, the illusions were to be shattered by the tenacious resistance of the Soviet peoples.

From the first days of the war, the CPSU manifested itself as the guiding force in the struggle against the fascist invaders. Pursuant to the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government, the State Defense Committee was set up, in whose hands the political, economic and military leadership of the country was concentrated. J. V. Stalin was named as chairman of this committee.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union united the efforts of the whole populace and directed them toward a single goal: stopping and then crushing the invading enemy. The Communist Party mobilized the Soviet working class, collective peasantry and intelligentsia to face with abnegation the difficulties of the war, organized a strong upsurge in labor and subordinated the national economy to meeting the needs of the front, with the Soviet people overcoming immense difficulties through heroic efforts.<sup>5</sup> Steps were taken for a new distribution of the country's resources in accordance with the needs of the front and of the war industry and the adaptation of the industrial installations for the production of arms, ammunition and other technical materials needed by the army. A redistribution of the human reserves and a new allocation of the financial resources were made.

The putting of the economy on a war footing was hindered by the fact that much of the industry in the threatened regions had to be evacuated to the eastern parts of the USSR. In the first 3 months of the war, there were evacuated to the Ural area, central Asia and Siberia 1,360 big enterprises, which, until being put into operation in the new regions, ceased their production.

The measures adopted and the efforts made gave the anticipated results. As early as December 1941, the industrial output began to rise. In March 1942, the enterprises for materiel in the eastern parts of the USSR attained the level of the prewar output in its entirety.

On the temporarily occupied territory, the partisan movement began to grow. The party organizations, working clandestinely, mobilized the people for the struggle against the occupiers.

With a view to stopping the enemy's offensive, the Soviet High Command sent to the forces nuclei from the central regions of the country. Most of them were meant for

the Western Front, to strengthen the defense in the direction of the capital. At the same time, steps were taken to strengthen the defense in the direction of Leningrad and in the eastern Ukraine.

The troops of the Nazi armies suffered very big losses, which amounted to 50 percent in men and hardware in the armored divisions. The tenacious resistance of the Soviet forces shattered Hitler's optimistic appraisal. The prospect of a winter campaign, for which the German army was not prepared, was looming.

The "blitzkrieg" theory had failed at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow, in the forests of Byelorussia and on the plains of the Ukraine, in the face of the heroic resistance of the peoples of the Soviet Union, whose efforts were followed with admiration and new hopes by the invaded and dominated peoples of Europe.

The Nazi aggression against the USSR made possible the achievement of the Soviet-Anglo-American alliance, the expansion of the anti-Hitler coalition. Despite the many disagreements appearing in the meantime, resulting from the differences in social orders, the governments of Great Britain and the United States, whose interests were threatened by that of the Third Reich, nevertheless understood that the Soviet Union's presence within the anti-Hitler coalition would hasten the defeat of the German armies, would considerably shorten the duration of the war, and that the keeping of the majority of the Nazi coalition's forces on the eastern front would be a true salvation for Great Britain, which had been alone until then in the war against Hitler's Germany. In the speech made on the day of the attack against the USSR, Winston Churchill, the British prime minister, declared that "every Russian soldier who is fighting for his homeland's hearth is also fighting for the freedom of all men and peoples in all countries of the world. Let us draw the lesson from the so cruel experience that we have had. Let us have the life and power to do it."<sup>6</sup> He promised to extend to the Soviet Union all possible aid on an economic and technical plane and to intensify the bombing over Germany. On 24 June 1941, the president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, also made a declaration of sympathy for the struggle of the Soviet people, who were fighting a hard war against the strongest war machine known up to then.<sup>7</sup>

Realizing that the "lightning war" against the USSR had failed and that the prospect of a long war was looming, the Nazi command limited its offensive operations in the summer of 1942 to two big actions: the conquest of the oil region in the Caucasus, along with the interruption of the Soviet traffic on the Volga and the conquest of Leningrad. By the middle of September 1942, the German offensive operation in the southwestern and southern direction managed to reach Stalingrad--where, on 13 September, the battles within the city began--and Novorossiysk and Novodok, where it was stopped after capturing the two localities. The intended goal of gaining control of the Grozny-Baku oil region could not be attained, due to the stubbornness of the Soviet defenders, who caused very big losses to the Nazi forces.

In the direction of Leningrad, the attempts were in vain. The heroic defenders of the great city on the Neva--cradle of the Great October Socialist Revolution--continued to hold out, despite inconceivable shortages and suffering.

In the occupied territory, Hitler's aggressors set up a regime of terror, of cruel economic exploitation and of systematic extermination of the population, which increased even more its hatred, expressed by many actions of fighting against the

occupiers, in the wide and strong partisan movement inspired by the deep sense of Soviet patriotism, organized and led with abnegation and a high spirit of sacrifice by the CPSU organizations and Komsomol [the Leninist Communist Youth League], which operated clandestinely.

The pushing of Romania into Hitler's anti-Soviet war on 22 June 1941 and the putting of it in a state of war with Great Britain (6 December 1941) and the United States (6 June 1942) were possible under the conditions of the upsetting of the balance of power on an international level toward the outbreak of World War II; of the isolation of Romania on an external plane; of the defeat of France and the British troops; of the Third Reich's unhindered domination over the majority of Europe; and of the country's tragic situation in the summer of 1940, when, as a result of concentric pressures from outside and the Nazi diktat, its territory was broken up. A situation that the Romanian people had not desired had been imposed on them. On 25 August 1939, in a letter sent to Mussolini, Hitler had stated, "Romania is no longer in the position of being able to take part in any conflict against the Axis."<sup>5</sup>

In this context, which had favored the rising of the most reactionary circles of the pro-German, pro-Nazi and fascist, deeply anticommunist and anti-Soviet bourgeoisie to the surface of Romanian political life, the regime of the military-fascist dictatorship with Gen Ion Antonescu at the head was established. The country was subordinated to Nazi Germany, whose troops were on its territory in October 1940 and whose advisers had crammed various economic sectors and departments. These circles tried to mislead the public, asserting that, in the new international situation, only Germany could still ensure the Romanian state's existence and the restoration of its interwar borders.

All of the above things explain why Romania--well known in the world as a country strongly dominated by feelings hostile to German imperialism and militarism--could be alongside Hitler's Germany for 4 years, although these feelings continued to persist intensely.

Directive No 21, on "Operation Barbarossa," included Romania among "the Reich's reliable allies," specifying that "the active participation of Romania and Finland in the war against Soviet Russia is to be expected on the flanks of our operation. At the proper time, the High Command will have to arrange and determine in what ways the armed forces of the two countries will be placed under German command, during their intervention."

The directive specified that Romania's task would be "to support with the selected forces the attack of the German southern flank, at least at its beginning, to pin down the enemy where the German forces are not engaged, to also perform noncombatant duties in the area behind the front."

The decision regarding the launching of "Operation Barbarossa" was officially brought to Antonescu's notice by Hitler personally on 17 June 1941, when the Romanian dictator was invited to Munich.

Taking cognizance of Hitler's decision, Antonescu declared himself willing to side with the Reich. At the same time, he accepted the German dictator's proposal of taking command of the German and Romanian troops who were to attack from Romania's territory, being assisted by the General Headquarters of the German 11th Army "as a kind

of active general staff" of the General Headquarters of Antonescu. He was to transform Hitler's "desires" regarding the Romanian armed forces "into military orders and whenever they require essential decisions it will present them to you for signing."<sup>10</sup>

There could be no clearer expression of Hitler's view on Romanian-German command relations. In fact, it reflects the state of domination of the country by Nazi Germany, the fact that Gen Antonescu's government was regarded by the Nazi leaders as a follower of their orders. Through this, Berlin carried out its rapacious policy regarding the country's economic resources, which contributed to the catastrophic situation in which Romania existed at the end of the war, when its industrial output and national income represented only about 50 percent of those before the war, with the country being on the brink of a national catastrophe in 1944.

A wide resistance that took various forms developed against the Third Reich's domination, its war and Antonescu's dictatorship. In the industrial centers, the actions of the workers against the war were combined with economic demands. Along with the organization of strike actions, there were acts of sabotage that struck directly at the Nazi war machine through the damaging of equipment, the interruption of communications, the defective manufacture of ammunition and parts of weapons, and so on. The sabotage in the oil region, which had as a result a significant drop in oil extraction, and the sabotage in railroad transportation, organized by the railroadmen in Bucharest, Ploiesti, Iasi, Brasov, Timisoara, Simeria and Arad, resulting in the temporary paralysis of the transportation needed for the military operations, assumed great proportions. In the fall of 1943, referring to the increase in the acts of sabotage, the governmental information organs stated that "the fires at the military dumps and the militarized establishments have assumed proportions that can no longer be attributed to chance. These fires undoubtedly have another cause, which, in most cases, must be sought in acts of sabotage."<sup>11</sup>

The Romanian people's hostility toward Nazi Germany, the awareness of the fact that the country's independence and future were in danger, the desire to regain their national sovereignty and their historical rights regarding the northeastern part of the country annexed by Horthy's Hungary through the fascist Vienna Diktat on 30 August 1940, and the extremely difficult material and moral situation of the families of those who were under arms--in their overwhelming majority, peasants--caused the continual growth of the discontent, of the anti-Hitler frame of mind within the army. In this regard, it is characteristic that, in the summer of 1942, the Romanian troops who were marching to the front in the Stalingrad area sang songs that evoked the greatest battle fought by their parents in the summer of 1917 against the Kaiser's armies that had invaded Romania, as well as a specially created song--"We Want Our Ancestral Transylvania"--in which the desire to fight for its liberation was expressed.

The hostility of the Romanian soldiers toward continuing the participation in the war alongside Nazi Germany and the worry about the consequences of this war were also felt within the command staff. In 1942, the chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen Ionel Iacobici, was dismissed as a result of a report sent to I. Antonescu, in which he expressed his disagreement with continuing the military operations, stating that the war fought far beyond the country's borders was unpopular. His successor, Gen Ilie Stefan, managed, by various means, to reduce by about one-third the number of Romanians enlisted men and officers in the units sent to the front in the summer of 1942.<sup>12</sup>

The above things explain the many armed clashes and conflicts between the Romanian and German military personnel, from mere enlisted men to commanders of high echelons. The proportions of these conflicts caused much worry to the Nazi leaders, as follows from a letter sent by Hitler to I. Antonescu at the start of 1943, in which he pointed out that "symptoms of disintegration have begun to arise /again/<sup>15</sup> [in italics] (S. Z.'s italics) in the Romanian units on the front. Some of the immediate effects of this frame of mind within the units on the front were the defection of many Romanian soldiers to the Soviet partisans<sup>16</sup> and the wide antifascist movement that arose among the Romanian prisoners in the camps in the USSR.

The Romanian patriots and those of other nationalities in the part of the country under Horthy's temporary occupation performed a fruitful activity in the resistance. Communists, social democrats, national peasants, workers, peasants and intellectuals acted together against the atrocities committed by the occupiers.

Another form of manifestation of the Romanian people's anti-Hitler opinions was the sympathy shown for the peoples mobilized for the struggle against the invaders, the solidarity with them. The clandestine communist press popularized the examples of militancy of the European Resistance, the efforts and sacrifices of the peoples for the defeat of Hitlerism. The other antifascist journalists in the legal press did the same thing, in suitable forms, often managing to get around the vigilance of the German authorities and Antonescu's censorship.

The struggle for liberation in the neighboring countries received special attention--it is easy to understand. In its platform of 6 September 1941, after pointing out that "behind the front, the entire Soviet populace is working, with greatly increased forces, to defend its homeland" and that "in the occupied territories, the people are organized into thousands and thousands of partisan groups against the invaders," the Romanian Communist Party asked its members and sympathizers "to connect the popularization of the platform with the campaign for popularizing the Soviet Union, the Soviet peoples and the heroic Red Army, which, through enormous sacrifices, are fighting the war against the fascist hordes...." In January 1942, the RCP Central Committee stressed, in a resolution, the victory at Moscow, which dispelled the myth of the German army's invincibility and of the "lightning war," stating that "the defeated fascist hordes are withdrawing in disorder, under the deadly attacks of the glorious Red Army."

The communists, all Romanian patriots, felt rightly that the struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia had the character of an organized war, waged on a well-built front that has engaged important forces of the occupiers. "The Serbian patriots, who number over 130,000 people and who are constantly increasing," the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA wrote on 24 November 1941, "are putting up a fierce fight.... Ever since /this front/ [in italics] (S. Z.'s italics) has existed in Yugoslavia, the Germans have lost over 50,000 men."

In its turn, ROMANIA LIBERA in Banat noted, on 1 January 1942, the intensification of the struggle of the peoples against the fascist aggressors and encouraged its readers, stating that "the resistance of the nations subjugated by Hitler is taking the form of a true patriotic war, from Yugoslavia to France, from Norway to Greece."

In the fierce battles and skirmishes fought in 1941 and 1942, the Soviet army wore out the enemy's forces and then gained like successes that led to a radical turn in

the course of the war. Through the gigantic efforts of the Soviet Union's peoples and the Soviet army, due to the firm and clear-sighted leadership exercised by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the temporary advantages that the Hitlerian aggressor possessed initially were negated.

The repeated attacks of the German troops for conquering Volgograd could not break the resistance of the Soviet troops and of the city's inhabitants. As a result of the continual growth of the Soviet combat forces and the reduction of the enemy forces, the premises had been created for a strong counteroffensive that would lead to the encirclement and destruction of the German grouping in the Stalingrad area, which was launched with irresistible force early in the morning of 19 November 1942.

The battle on the Don and the Volga, whose victorious outcome occurred at the start of February 1943, constitutes one of the most glorious pages in the history of World War II. Surpassing in scope and consequences all the battles known up to then in world military history, it marked a turning point in the general course of the war, exercising a favorable influence on the other theaters of war, on the anti-Nazi resistance, on the struggle for liberation of the peoples invaded and dominated by the fascist Axis.

The victory obtained by the Soviet troops in the winter of 1942-1943 gave the strategic initiative to the Soviet command, crushed the strategic reserves of the Wehrmacht and helped to strengthen the anti-Hitler coalition. After the defeat on the Volga, Germany went into a deep depression.<sup>17</sup>

The last German offensive strategic operation carried out between 5 and 11 July 1943, in the area of Kursk, Orel and Belgorod, through which the Nazi command sought to regain the initiative and to change the course of the war in its favor, was crushed by the Soviet forces. To achieve the defeat and completely annihilate the German grouping in this sector of the front, the Soviet High Command launched, on 12 July, a counteroffensive with the forces of 3 armies, resulting in the annihilation of 30 German divisions and the destruction or capture of 1,500 tanks, 3,000 cannons and 1,500 airplanes by the Soviet troops.

The victory at Kursk, a result of the heroic efforts of the Soviet people and the Soviet army, consolidated the strategic initiative of the Soviet High Command, created possibilities for organizing later a general offensive along a 2,000-km front, and confronted the Nazi command and its troops with disaster.

The partisan movement, carried on with much vigor behind the German front by the over 1 million patriots who participated in fighting, had an important role in securing the brilliant Soviet victories in the summer and fall of 1943.

Toward the end of 1943, all the premises had been created for the transition to a new stage of the war, a stage in which the complete liberation of the temporarily occupied territory of the Soviet Union, the shifting of the military operations outside Soviet territory, and the final assault on the Nazi Third Reich were pursued.

The attacks made by the Soviet army in various directions during 1944 brought decisive victories over the armies of fascist Germany and its satellites. Through the selection of the directions of the main attacks, which ensured the rapid destruction of the impotent enemy groupings, great operational and strategic successes were

obtained in the shortest possible time. The strong offensive actions carried out on the immense front from the Barents Sea to the Danube made it impossible for Hitler's command to use its reserves efficiently. The enemy was compelled to spread out its reserves, without managing to intervene in time where the deadly attacks of the Soviet army were launched.

As a result of the victorious operations in 1944, the Soviet army destroyed the enemy's basic strategic groupings, which led to the collapse of the whole German front. Along with the victories of the Soviet Union, the successes gained by the western Allied forces on the fronts in Africa and the Mediterranean, the landing in Sicily, the removal of Mussolini and the landing in Italy, were of great importance. On 6 June 1944, through the landing of the American, British and French troops in France, a new front was opened up in Europe, which gave the possibility of achieving coordinated attacks from the east and the west. The Germans were compelled to cope with a more and more complicated situation for them in Yugoslavia--where the partisan struggle had been transformed into a national war, constituting, in fact, a new front in Europe--in France, Poland, Albania, Greece and the other occupied and dominated countries. The struggle for liberation in all the countries of Europe exercised a strong influence on the course of World War II.

The offensive operations carried out in 1944-1945 helped the peoples of Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to liberate themselves and isolated Hitler's Germany, whose inevitable collapse had become evident. The Soviet army had penetrated over a wide front into Germany's territory, to within 60 km of Berlin, where the German command had concentrated a strong group of armies, which, together with the reserves withdrawn from the western front and with the battalions of Volkssturm, totaled 500,000 men and had many technical resources.

The attack that marked the beginning of the battle for Berlin, on 16 April 1945, was strong and unexpected by the Hitlerians and it marked the start of the immediate end of Nazi imperialism, an end that mankind hailed on 9 May 1945.

Appearing on the political scene of the world as the most violent reaction of the most retrograde circles of imperialism against the popular, revolutionary movements, fascism--this bloody scourge of the 20th century--collapsed under the strong attacks of the armies of the United Nations, the antifascist resistance and the national liberation movements. Its defeat saved the gravely outraged human civilization and opened up for mankind new prospects in the struggle for peace, security and social progress. "Mankind will never forget," said the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism. "The immense sacrifices of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who bore the brunt of the war, the sacrifices of the other countries in the anti-Hitler coalition, and the actions of the national liberation forces in scores of states, which helped to attain the victory over fascism.

"The Romanian people have the great satisfaction of having been alongside the Soviet Union and the other antifascist forces in the last months of the war, of having made their active contribution to the defeat of Hitler's Germany, to the great victory over fascism--which created for them the possibility of forging themselves a new, independent life."

Romania's participation in the anti-Hitler war began with the antifascist armed national insurrection in August 1944 and represented the corollary of the struggles and efforts of all the national patriotic and democratic forces, united on the common platform of eliminating the military-fascist dictatorship and liberating the country from the domination of Nazi Germany.

The insurrection in August 1944--which represented the start of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation--was possible due to the achievement of the policy of wide alliances, initiated and pursued tenaciously by the Communist Party, which involved the widest strata of the population in a decisive struggle for the basic national interests. In all of the agreements concluded, the Communist Party was present and acted as a galvanizing nucleus and bond, a fact that did not go unnoticed by the German information organs, which related, on 5 August 1944, that "the evolution of the internal politics in recent weeks clearly shows a shifting of all the opposition toward the Left, with the takeover of the leadership of this opposition by the Communist Party."<sup>19</sup>

Through the ties achieved with officers in the senior commands of the army and through the influence of the staunch allies and the temporary ones, counting on the state of dissatisfaction within the military concerning the gloomy prospect of the country and the army, the Communist Party managed to secure the collaboration of a significant number of field and general officers.

Begun on 23 August 1944, through the arrest of Antonescu's government, the insurrection overthrew the regime of the military-fascist dictatorship, got the country out of the anti-Soviet war and got it into the anti-Hitler coalition, making an important contribution to the collapse of the positions of the Nazi forces in the Balkans.

Setting the important occasion of the turning of the arms against Germany, the armistice agreement with the United Nations, signed in Moscow on 12 September 1944, presents the historic act as follows in the first article of the preamble: "On 24 August 1944, at 4:00 am, Romania ceased entirely the military operations against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in all theaters of war, got out of the war against the United Nations, severed relations with Germany and its satellites, joined the war and will carry on the war on the side of the Allied powers against Germany and Hungary with the view to restoring Romania's independence and sovereignty...."

The Romanian people's memorable act was hailed by the anti-Hitler coalition, by the forces of the European antifascist resistance and by world democratic public opinion and received realistic appraisals on the part of the press and of official representatives, which noted, as early as in the first days, the internal and international significance of the Romanian insurrection in August.

Engaged in the antifascist war, the Romanian army fought--shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet army--hard battles for the complete liberation of Romania. The driving of the occupiers from the northwestern part of the country, the reestablishment and consolidation of national independence and sovereignty, and the development of the democratic freedoms gained by the Romanian people through the insurrection in August 1944 were closely connected with the defeat of Nazi Germany, which had been the internal center of fascism and reaction. Consequently, Romania's participation within the anti-Hitler coalition in the war against the Third Reich was a chief task, whose achievement required the mobilization of all the energies of the country.

Patriotic fighting formations and units of the army totaling nearly 460,000 men participated in the insurrectional actions. In the battles for the liberation of the northwestern part of Romania, carried out between 1 September and 25 October 1944, the Romanian army participated with 18 infantry divisions, 5 mountain infantry divisions, 5 cavalry divisions, 1 mechanized corps and another 28 separate corps units, as well as the I Air Corps and units of the navy. The total forces participating in the battles carried out between 23 August-25 October 1944 amounted to nearly 520,000 men. During these battles, the Romanian forces lost about 55,330 privates, noncommissioned officers and officers (dead, wounded and missing).<sup>20</sup>

Moving onto Hungary's territory in October 1944, the Romanian army continued the fight, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet armies of the Second Ukrainian Front. Totaling about 210,000 men, the Romanian troops lost about 43,000 men (dead, wounded and missing) in the operations for liberating Hungary. They liberated and made their contribution to liberating about 1,240 localities and other settlements, including Budapest, Debrecen, Miskolc, Gyor and 10 other important cities.<sup>21</sup>

In the period of 18 December 1944-12 May 1945, the Romanian forces, totaling over 245,000 men, fought in Czechoslovakia, under difficult terrain and weather conditions, against a fierce opponent. At the price of losing about 66,500 privates, noncommissioned officers and officers (dead, wounded and missing), the Romanian troops advanced through battles to within about 60 km southeast of Prague and liberated or helped to liberate 1,727 localities and other settlements, including 31 cities, such as Bojnice, Kremnica Panovce, Kromeriz, Lucenec, Zvolen, Panska Bystrica and Bratislava.

From the beginning of April, the Romanian tank regiment, as well as railroad sub-units, operated within Soviet units above regiment size and other units during the operations in Czechoslovakia and on the territory of Austria, in the area of the localities of Hohenauersdorf (20 km northeast of Vienna), Schrick, Sillersdorf, Kriegelbach, Eitenthal, Poysdorf, Laa, Stockerau, Ziersdorf, Zellendorf, Leopoldau, Amstorf and so on.<sup>22</sup>

During the actions in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria, as in the battles for liberating the homeland, the Romanian enlisted men and officers performed many feats of heroism, exhibiting energy and a spirit of sacrifice. Speaking about the behavior of the Romanian soldiers in the anti-Hitler war, when they exhibited "high fighting initiative and great courage," Marshal of the Soviet Union R. I. Malinovsky, the commander of the Second Ukrainian Front, within which the Romanian troops operated, stated in an article published in the periodical VOENNOE LITEROVICHESKII JURNAL, No. 7, 1945, "Our Hungarian compatriots aroused our admiration through their fighting spirit and showed their spirit of sacrifice. They held out in the hardest battles. Their valiant qualities, characteristic of the troops of the Romanian people's army, proved that it has fought very well and will be a worthy ally of ours."

During the 100 days of fighting, the Romanian army covered far more than 1,000 km, from the Romanian shore of the Black Sea to Bohemia. It moved about 70 mountain regiments, crossed 12 big watercourses, liberated 1,241 localities and other settlements, including 31 cities, and caused the enemy losses figured at over 110,000 privates and about 20,000 dead left on the field, which totals the approximate strength of 14 divisions.

At the end of the war on the front, there were 16 Romanian divisions, 1 air corps, 1 tank regiment and other military units and formations, with a total strength of nearly 165,000 men. The Romanian army's losses in the anti-Hitler war, starting with the insurrection in August 1944, were around 167,500 men (dead, wounded and missing). About 140,000 men were sent to the front--between 1 November 1944 and 10 May 1945 alone--to replace these losses. Romania's total contribution in fighting forces and in personnel employed in performing services directly connected with the new operations, from 23 August 1944 to 12 May 1945, when the Romanian troops, pursuing the remnants of the defeated German army, fired the last gunshots, totaled nearly 540,000 men," a figure that does not include the patriotic fighting formations and many other citizens who took part in fighting in the country or in the ranks of the partisans in the USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France and Belgium. Regarding the economic contribution, it is evaluated--according to incomplete data--at far more than \$1 billion in 1938 currency.

Reflecting the frame of mind of all the working people in the midst of the revolutionary struggle, the Romanian soldiers were inspired by the just cause of liberating their own people and other peoples subjugated by Nazism. The struggle of the democratic forces under the slogan "Land of the Peasants!," for dispossessing the landed gentry and granting land to, first of all, those who were fighting on the front and the war widows and orphans, had a strong influence on the army, formed mostly of working peasants.

The significance of the Romanian people's act in August 1944 and of their contribution to the anti-Hitler war received a high valuation from the anti-Hitler coalition. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, J. V. Stalin, stated in a message sent to British Prime Minister W. Churchill, on 27 May 1945, that "more than 8 months have passed since [Romania] (in italics) (the author's italics) and Bulgaria severed the alliance with Hitler's Germany, concluded an armistice with the Allied states and joined the war on the side of the Allies against Germany, using their armed forces for this purpose. Through this, they made their contribution to the cause of the defeat of Hitlerism and contributed to the victorious outcome of the war in Europe." J. V. Stalin's appraisal of the political and military importance of the Romanian people's contribution to the defeat of fascism, through the insurrection in August 1944 and the human and economic contribution to the effort of the United Nations, was brought up again in the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by means of which the highest Soviet war decoration, which was awarded "for successfully carrying out those military operations (on the scale of one front or many fronts), whose result is leading to the changing of the situation in the favor of the Soviet army," was conferred on the chief of the Romanian state in July 1947. In this decree it said, "for the courageous act of decisively turning Romania's policy toward the break with Hitler's Germany and the alignment with the United Nations at the time when Germany's defeat had not yet become clear, His Majesty Michael I, the King of Romania, is decorated with the Victoria Order." As is known, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, Polish Marshal Michal Rymerski-Rola, North American Gen Dwight Eisenhower and British Field Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery were also honored, abroad, with this high decoration.

At the Paris Peace Conference, in 1946, the delegations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic and the Republic of France argued for the accordng of a better status to Romania. The chief of the Czechoslovak delegation brought up in support of his

statements Romania's positive attitude toward Czechoslovakia during the crisis in 1938 and pointed out that "Romania helped to cross into the USSR many Czech soldiers who wanted to fight against the fascists." He also stated that Romania was not injured to the fate that Antonescu's dictatorship and Nazi Germany had ordained for it, that "the Romanian people turned their arms against the German invaders" and that "the Romanian troops fought voluntarily against the Germans on Czechoslovakia's territory, helping to liberate it."

Unfortunately, these viewpoints, fully justified and legitimate, were not accepted. The denial of cobelligerent status increased the difficulties in the postwar economic restoration of Romania.

The Romanian army's return to the country, in the summer of 1945, offered to international public opinion a new occasion to give praise in connection with its behavior on the anti-Fascist front, with the exemplary way in which it fulfilled its liberating mission.

Invoking with deep respect its heroes who sacrificed themselves for the forging of the crucial act in the history of the country in the summer of 1944 and for the victory on 23 May 1945, the Romanian people are keeping alive the memory of the great support received in these efforts from the Soviet people, of the legendary heroism that the Soviet people exhibited in the struggle against Fascism. To glorify the Soviet army, the memory of its soldiers who fought and sacrificed themselves on the land of Romania for its liberation from the domination of Nazi Germany, many monuments and obelisks have been erected and memorial plaques have been put up. The cemeteries in which the bones of the fallen rest are tended with respect by our people and their young. The blood spilled by the Romanian and Soviet soldiers in the battles fought shoulder to shoulder for the liberation of the country and beyond the borders of Romania, up to the victorious outcome of the war, was added to that spilled in 1918-1920 to defend Soviet power, laying the foundations for Romanian-Soviet friendship.

Over the years that have passed since the victory of the peoples over fascism, the Romanian people have gone through an entire historical era. Strong revolutionary transformations have occurred in all fields of economic and social activity. The bourgeois order and the exploitation of man by man have been eliminated. Socialism has triumphed both in the cities and in the villages, with socialist production relations being generalized. From a country with a poorly developed, predominantly agricultural economy, Romania has been transformed into an industrial-agrarian country. Education, science and culture--prime factors in the progress of human society--have been developed.

As a result of the victory of socialism, our nation, which is acquiring new essential characteristics, has been strengthened and homogenized. The full equality in rights of all the working people, regardless of nationality, has been provided. All citizens of the homeland have equal rights and obligations. They participate actively in all economic and social activity, in the management of society. Socialist democracy, so important for the building of the new order, is being developed strongly.

Far from the fact that as long as imperialism and reactionary forces exist in the world, the danger of a new war also exists, we always take measures to strengthen the nucleus for defense against any aggression, for the affirmation of independence and the revolutionary gains. Paying attention to these factors

to the strengthening of the homeland's defensive capacity, to the equipping and political and combat training of our armed forces.

All the remarkable successes obtained by the Romanian people in forging the new social order demonstrate strongly the correctness of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party, which is steadily guiding itself, in its entire activity, according to the dialectical- and historical-materialistic revolutionary outlook. Connecting the acts of the contemporaries with those of the predecessors, the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, concludes that the best honoring of those who sacrificed themselves for the liberation of the homeland and the victory over fascism consists of "doing everything to ensure the steady implementation of the party's program--the basic political and ideological charter that orients the party and the whole populace and illuminates the way for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism."<sup>24</sup>

The development of Romania by means of socialism has created the premises for its sovereign affirmation in the political arena, for its ever more active participation in solving--in the interest of peace and social progress--the major problems of the present.

On the plane of foreign policy, in complete agreement with the goals of the domestic policy, Romania starts from the necessity--felt acutely by the peoples--of developing, without hindrance, in a free and sovereign manner, under conditions of peace and collaboration, on the basis of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality in rights, mutual advantage and noninterference in internal affairs.

With the establishment of the people's power in Romania, friendship with the USSR and alliance and collaboration between the two countries, between the Romanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, for which our party has always spoken out steadily, became a state policy, occupying an essential place within our country's foreign relations. Over the years, Romanian-Soviet relations of collaboration and alliance have been developed on many planes, on the strong foundation of the common ideology, of the community of social order and final goals.

The Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania feel that there is every possibility for an ever ascending evolution of multilateral Romanian-Soviet ties with a view to strengthening the friendship, collaboration and alliance between the two parties and countries.

Expressing its conviction that the socialist system can fully manifest its superiority and influence through the contribution of each socialist country, Romania is developing relations of friendship, assistance and collaboration with all the socialist states, without exception. At the same time, it is manifesting itself as a supplier of cooperation with all the states of the world, regardless of their social order, on the basis of the same principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, equality in rights and mutual advantage, seeing in the establishment of normal and fruitful interstate relations the way to relax the international climate, to defend the peace and to facilitate the progress of the peoples.

Fightting insistently for the development of cooperation between states, for the stopping of the arms race, for the unconditional banning of the use of nuclear

weapons and for the destruction of the existing stocks. Romania, together with the other anti-imperialist forces of social progress and peace, is carrying on a steady struggle against the aggressive policy of the imperialist circles and for the extinguishing of the hotbeds of war. The Romanian people strongly oppose imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and firmly support the rejections of the right of the nations to determine their fate themselves, in accordance with their own aspirations.

The lessons of the international politics that preceded the second great world conflagration and of the relations between the states in the anti-Hitler coalition necessitate the respecting of the interests and dignity of all the peoples, of their territory's integrity and their national unity. They demonstrate that one people's independence and sovereignty, its well-being and happiness cannot be achieved at the expense of another people, of another nation, that only by fully respecting the unity, independence and sovereignty of the other peoples is it possible to ensure the independence and happiness of each nation.

This is why Romania feels that in solving all the complex problems of the contemporary international situation--still dominated, unfortunately, by anachronistic and explosive states of affairs--it is necessary to start from the active participation of all states in world political life. No problem of the world of today can be solved any longer just by a few states, regardless of their size and economic and military potential. It is necessary to take into account the will of the developing countries, the small and middle-sized countries and the nonaligned countries, which are vitally interested in a policy of equality in rights, of resolution of the complex problems in the interest of all nations of the world.

As a European country, socialist Romania is vitally interested in the achievement of relations of collaboration, trust and friendship between all states on the continent, relations indispensable to peace and security, to the exclusion of the use of force and the threat of force in any form in interstate relations.

A constant concern of the Romanian Communist Party is the providing and strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers movement, starting from the fact, demonstrated by experience, that in achieving this historical desire of the communist and workers movement it is necessary to start from the realization of the fact, from the diversity of conditions in which the revolutionary parties of the working class are operating, which confers on each party the sovereign right to work out its own political line. It feels that comradely collaboration, freely maintained between equals, in a spirit of mutual trust and esteem, constitutes the basic guarantee for the international solidarity and unity of the communist and workers movement.

The activity of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu, on an international plane has as an essential objective the providing of the material conditions for the unhindered performance of the peaceful work of socialist construction in our homeland, the development and strengthening of the political and friendly relations with all the socialist countries, the raising of the contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers movement, the solidarity with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces, with all nonaligned countries, in the struggle for the creation of an international climate of security, the cooperation and trust between peoples. Only such a climate can make important the legal type of those progressive acts that generate war and war-like acts for which the

peoples paid the such high price of 60 million human lives and the destruction of immense material and spiritual values.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See in more detail: "Fiile din Istoria Militara a Poporului Român--Studii" [Pages from the Military History of the Romanian People--Studies], Vols. 5 and 6, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, the article signed by Lt Gen (ret) Gheorghe Zaharia, pp 37-39.
2. "Istoria Vtoroi Kirovov Total 1939-1945" (hereinafter: "IKV"), Vol III, Military Publishing House, Moscow, 1974, pp 346-347.
3. A. Hitler, "Directives de Guerre," Arthaud Publishing House, Paris, 1945, pp 74-77.
4. "Velikaja Otechestvennaja Voyna Sovetskogo Sojuza. Kratkaja Istočnica" [Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. Short Source], Tsvetnaya, 1967, pp 57, 57.
5. See in detail: "Marea Conflagrație a Secolului XX--al Doilea Război Mondial" [The Great Conflagration of the 20th Century--World war II] (hereinafter: "Marea Conflagrație"), revised and expanded second edition, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1974, pp 163-164, 226-231.
6. Winston Churchill, "War Speeches," London, 1946, pp 137, 138.
7. See in detail: "Marea Conflagrație," pp 160-167, 224-226, 207-216.
8. "Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945" (hereinafter: "DUFF"), Series D, Vol VII, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, document No 266.
9. A. Hitler, op. cit., p 78.
10. "DUFF," Series D, Vol XII, document No 1,644, Adolf Hitler to Gen Ion Antonescu, 18 June 1941.
11. See in detail: Alhai Patu, "The Working Class--the Decisive Social Force in the Resistance Movement," in "Insurectia din August 1944 și Semnificația ei Iсторическая" [The Insurrection in August 1944 and its Historical Significance], Carter Publishing House, Bucharest, 1974, pp 34-51.
12. "Arhivele Ministerului Apărării Naționale" [The Archives of the Ministry of National Defense] (hereinafter: "AMAPN"), file 300/56, sheet 17b.
13. "Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe" [The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs] (hereinafter: "AMAE"), doc 71/1941-Germany, Vol 179.
14. "AMAE," file 71-, sheet 321.
15. "AMAE," file 71-, sheet 321.

16. See: NOUAIA I NOVEISALA ISTORIIA, No 5, 1961, p 148, and ARHIVELE INSTITUTULUI DE ISTORIE A PARTIDULUI, No 4, 1961, p 100.
17. See in detail: "Rarea Conflagratie," pp 199-206.
18. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societății Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate" [Romania on the way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol 11, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 562.
19. "Arhiva Istorică Centrală" [The Central Historical Archives], "German Documents" Section, roll No 883/5,631, frame 433-434.
20. See in detail: "Romania în Războiul Antihitlerist" [Romania in the Anti-Hitler War], Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1966, pp 595-634, 699-700.
21. Ibidem, pp 648-653.
22. Ibidem, pp 644-694, 695.
23. Ibidem, pp 703-704.
24. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 560.

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LAW ON WORKERS COUNCILS AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian No 113 Part I, 29 Dec 81 pp 1-5

[Law No 23 of the Grand National Assembly on Amending and Completion of Law No 30/1977 on the Congress of Workers Councils and the National Council of Workers From Industry, Construction and Transportation]

/Text:/ The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts this Law.

Single article. Law No 30/1977 on the Congress of Workers Councils and National Council of Workers From Industry, Construction and Transportation, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Part I, No 112, 28 October 1977, is amended and completed, with the following content:

Law on the Congress of Workers Councils, National Council for Workers, Conferences of the Workers Councils and County Workers Councils From Industry, Construction, Transportation, Goods Circulation and Finance:

The development of socialist democracy, broadening of the framework for participation of the working class and all the people in the conscious creation of their own destiny and in the leadership of society, continual improvement in the activity of the workers councils and general workers meetings are a permanent concern of the party and state.

In order to insure implementation of the party's program for more and more emphatic development of the forms of direct democracy and for assertion of the working class' leading role throughout the job of leading the multilaterally developed socialist society and directing Romania toward communism, it is necessary to have corresponding improvement in the legislative framework.

CHAPTER I:

The Congress of Workers Councils and National Council of Workers From Industry, Construction, Transportation, Goods Circulation and Finance

Article 1. The congress of workers councils from industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finance, the most representative democratic forum of the working class as the owner of the means of production, producer and beneficiaries of material gains, is established.

The congress of workers councils discusses the basic problems of economic development and the ways and means for fulfilling the tasks included in the party's program and the single national plan for social-economic development, of improvement in worker self-leadership as well as of the continued development of socialist worker democracy, and collective work and leadership.

The congress of workers councils insures the direct participation of the popular masses in leadership of the various sectors of activity, in working out, adopting and implementing decisions and laws and in strengthening the control of the working class and all workers over all the activity of the state organs.

Article 2. Participating in the work of the workers council congress are representatives of the workers councils from the industrial construction and transportation units, research-design institutes and centers, units from goods circulation, craftsmen's cooperatives and consumer cooperatives, the financial-banking system, members of the National Council of Workers, party activists and representatives of ministries and other central state and public organs.

The congress of workers councils meets once every five years and is convened by the National Council of Workers.

The norms for representation at the congress are set by the National Council of Workers. Delegates to the congress are elected in the general workers meetings in the enterprises and are confirmed by the county and Bucharest municipal conferences of the workers councils.

Article 3. In fulfilling its tasks, the congress of workers councils adopts collective decisions for all collective leadership organs of the ministries and other central and local state and public organs, industrial centrals, enterprises and other units in industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finances.

Article 4. The National Council of Workers, as an organ of formal representation with permanent activity, is organized for the leadership, guidance and control of workers council activity in the period between two congresses.

Article 5. The president of the National Council of Workers is elected by the congress of workers councils.

The National Council of Workers is elected by the congress. Candidates for the National Council of Workers are discussed and elected in the general workers meetings in the enterprises and are confirmed by the county and Bucharest municipal conferences of the workers councils.

Article 6. The National Council of Workers has legislative initiative for improving the leadership and planning of the national economy, for continuing socialist democratic, developing worker self-leadership and strengthening democratic-centralized management, for improving the organization and operation of ministries, other central state and public organs, centrals and enterprises as well as other socialist economic and social life.

The drafts of normative acts of general interest for the country's socialist-economic development initiated by other state organs subject to discussion in the National

Council of Workers before being presented for adoption by the Grand National Assembly or Council of State.

Article 7. The National Council of Workers takes action for the continued improvement of activity for planning and leadership of all sectors of activity as well as for application and precise respect for party and state decisions in the activity of the Council of Ministers, ministries, other central and local state and public organs, for which purpose it has the following main duties:

- a) It organizes the application and controls the fulfillment of the decisions of the congress of workers councils; it checks on application of and respect for the decisions of the party, laws and decrees as well as other normative acts by all ministries, other central organs and units in industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finances;
- b) It analyzes annual and future plans for the development of industry, construction, transportation, small industry and providing of services and goods circulation. It establishes the measures needed to have the workers councils in the economic units and the leadership councils of the ministries and other central state and public organs implement under the best conditions the single national plan for social-economic development and the tasks they have from party decisions and the country's laws, seeking to increase economic efficiency of all activity, manage fixed assets and financial resources entrusted to them with maximum efficiency, to continually improve working conditions in the enterprises, to increase the national wealth and, on this basis, to continually raise the material and spiritual standard of living of working people;
- c) It discusses and analyzes the way in which the program is carried out to raise the standard of living and to increase the quality of life for all people as well as the way in which the provisions of the programs for supplying the population, developing the services being provided and for carrying out social-cultural actions are fulfilled;
- d) It ensures the orientation and unified leadership of the activity of the masses in centers, enterprises and other economic units and of the ministries' leadership councils for the continued development of collective work and leadership, for improvement in working style and methods, for promoting criticism and self-criticism, for increasing the responsibility of all members of the council in fulfilling their tasks;
- e) It guides the activity of the general workers meetings with a view to the organized participation of the broad masses of working people in the leadership of certain economic activity in the units and for having them carry out efficient control over the leadership organs, seeking to stimulate the creative initiative of the units' collectives and to draw them into solving the main problems of the enterprise, as well as continually raise the workers' socialist awareness;
- f) It discusses the reports of the Council of Ministers on a regular basis with regard to the activity of fulfilling the single national plan for social-economic development;

Article 8. The National Council of Workers is comprised of:

a) The executive bureaus of the leadership councils from the following ministries and other central organs:

Ministry of Mines;

Ministry of Petroleum;

Ministry of Geology;

Ministry of Electric Power;

Ministry of Metallurgical Industry;

Ministry of Machine Building Industry;

Ministry of the Machine Tool Building and Electrical Engineering Industry;

Ministry of the Chemical Industry;

Ministry of Light Industry;

Ministry of the Forestry Economy and Construction Materials;

Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications;

Ministry of Industrial Construction;

Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation;

Ministry of Small-scale Trade;

Ministry of General-Material Supply and Control or the Management of Fixed Assets;

The Statistical (the Statistical Bureau);

b) The Executive Bureau of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Bulgaria;

c) The Executive Bureau of the Central Council for Social Economic Planning;

d) the Executive Bureau of the Special Council of Workers' Control of State-owned Enterprises;

e) the representative;

f) the heads of committees of the Central and Regional Trade Unions;

g) the political leaders of the unions;

h) the leadership of local trade unions;

f) The 934 workers and foremen who work directly in production;

g) The cadres from the central party and state organs and apparatus and from mass and public organizations;

Members of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Executive Bureau of the Council of Ministers;

Cadres from sections of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party;

h) Leadership cadres from the following ministries and other central organs:

State Planning Committee;

National Council for Science and Technology;

Ministry of Finance;

Ministry of Labor;

Ministry of Tourism;

Department of Civil Aviation;

UCECOM [Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives];

CENTROCOOP [Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives];

National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania;

Investment Bank;

The Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade;

i) Activists from the county and municipal and Bucharest municipal sector party committees;

j) Secretaries from party organizations, from the Union for Communist Youth and trade union presidents from the big enterprises;

k) General directors and directors of the industrial centrals and big enterprises;

l) Chief engineers, head accountants, heads of sections and workshops and cadres from research and design.

The National Council of Workers has in its leadership one president, one first vice president, 14 vice presidents, of which 7 are workers, foremen and heads of sections from the main branches of production, and 3 secretaries.

Article 9. The National Council of Workers carries out its activity in a plenum and by commissions.

The National Council of Workers has the following commissions:

The National Council of Workers has the following commissions:

- a) Commission for problems of collective work and leadership;
- b) Commission for problems of political-educational activity;
- c) Commission for standard of living, work conditions and social problems.

During the work in the plenum, the National Council may also carry out its activity by sections.

Article 10. The competence of the commissions is approved by the National Council of Workers.

Article 11. The National Council of Workers has an executive bureau comprised of 59 members, of whom 31 are workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production, as follows:

The president, who also is the first vice president of the National Council of Workers;

The 14 vice presidents, of whom 7 are workers, foremen and heads of sections from the main branches of production;

The 3 secretaries;

The 41 members.

The competence of the executive bureau is approved by the National Council of Workers.

Article 12. The executive bureau conducts all the activity in the period between plenary meetings of the National Council of Workers, having the following main duties:

- a) It follows up on the way in which the leadership councils of the ministries and of workers councils from the centrals and enterprises are taking action to implement the single national plan for social-economic development and the program approved by the party to raise the standard of living and to increase the quality of life for all the people;
- b) It insures implementation of the decisions adopted by the congress and the National Council of Workers, of the measures adopted by the party for raising all social and economic activity to a qualitatively higher level;
- c) It hears and analyzes the reports of the ministries on the way in which they have taken action to fulfill the decisions adopted by the congress or the tasks established by the National Council;
- d) It adopts operational measures for the guidance and unified leadership of the activity of the workers councils and other collective leadership organs to improve the style and methods of their work, to increase the responsibility of all the members to fulfill their tasks;

e) It discusses and approves the proposals of appointing to jobs the members of the Councils of Ministers, other cadres from the ministries' leadership and other central organs, following consultation of the general workers meetings in the units where they carry out their activity.

Article 13. The National Council of Workers meets two times a year and as many times as is necessary and it works validly in the presence of at least two-thirds of its members.

The executive bureau meets once each half and as many times as necessary.

The decisions of the National Council of Workers and the executive bureau are adopted by open vote with the majority of their members.

Article 14. The decisions of the National Council of Workers are obligatory for all collective leadership organs in the ministries, other central and local state and public organs, industrial centrals, enterprises and other socialist units in industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finance.

## CHAPTER II:

### Conferences of Workers Councils and County Workers Councils in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Goods Circulation and Finance

Article 15. The conference of workers councils, a broadly democratic organ of the working class in the industrial, construction, transportation, goods circulation and financial-banking units within the territorial-administrative range of the county and Bucharest municipality is established in each county and in Bucharest municipality.

The conference of workers councils discusses the basic problems of territorial economic and social development, the ways and means for fulfilling the tasks belonging to the county from the party program and from the single national plan for social-economic development as well as the problems of improving worker self-leadership, broadening economic-financial self-management and the continued development of collective work and leadership.

The conference of workers councils is comprised of:

- a) Members of workers councils from enterprises, centrals and other socialist units in the county, as established by the workers' general meetings in the enterprises;
- b) Members of the county workers council;
- c) Party and state activists, representatives of ministries, other central and local state and public organs.

The conference of workers councils meets once each two and one-half years and is convened by the county workers council.

Delegates to the conference of workers councils are elected in the general workers' meetings in the enterprises on the basis of the norm of representation established by the county workers council.

**Article 16.** The county workers council, the representative organ with continuous activity, is organized for the leadership, guidance and control of the activity of the workers councils in the period between two conferences; the municipal workers council is organized in Bucharest municipality.

**Article 17.** The county workers council has the following main duties:

- a) It organizes, insures and checks on fulfillment of the decisions of the congress and the National Council and county conference of workers councils on activity of the social-economic units on their territory;
- b) It analyzes the annual and long-range territorial plans for the development of industry, construction, transportation, small industry and providing of services and goods circulation; it establishes necessary measures for having the workers councils in the county's economic units fulfill the single national plan for social-economic development territorially under the best conditions, the tasks belonging to them from the party's decisions and the country's laws, seeking to increase the economic efficiency of all activity;
- c) It analyzes and checks on the way in which the collective leadership organs in the units insure application of party and state decisions, have firm respect for the new economic-financial mechanism, use and manage raw materials, materials, fuels, energy, fixed assets and financial resources entrusted to them with high efficiency and it establishes the necessary measures;
- d) It discusses the reports presented annually by the executive committee of the county people's council on fulfillment of the single national plan for social-economic development territorially and it adopts necessary decisions;
- e) It insures the orientation and united leadership of the activity of the workers councils in the socialist units on the territory for the continued development of collective work and leadership, worker self-leadership and self-management, improvement in working style and methods, promotion of criticism and self-criticism, increase in the contribution and responsibility of all council members in fulfilling the tasks belonging to these organs;
- f) It guides the activity of the general meetings of workers with a view to participation of the broad masses of working people in the leadership of the social-economic activity of the territory's units.

**Article 18.** The county workers council is composed of 201-351 members, while that of Bucharest municipality is composed of 501 members and they are comprised of:

- a) Presidents, first vice presidents and vice presidents of the workers councils in enterprises, centrals and other similar units in the county and other members of the executive bureaus of the workers councils;
- b) Activists of the county office for social-economic organization;
- c) Activities of the county council for worker control of economic and social activity;
- d) The bureau of the county trade union council;

- e) Head engineers, heads of sections and shops, research and design personnel, economists and other cadres with rich experience in the enterprises;
- f) Representatives of the Union of Communist Youth, county council of women, the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity and local organs of the state administration;
- g) The 105-180 workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production and 265 in Bucharest municipality.

Candidates for the county workers council are discussed and elected in the general workers meetings in the enterprises.

The county workers council has in its leadership one president, five-seven vice presidents and one secretary.

The president of the county workers council is elected by the conference of workers councils. The county workers council is elected by the conference from among the candidates for the councils elected in the general workers meetings.

The county workers council meets twice a year and as many times as is necessary and it works validly in the presence of at least two-thirds of its members.

Article 19. The county workers council has an executive bureau composed of 21-33 members, of whom 11-17 are workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production. In Bucharest municipality the executive bureau is composed of 37 members, of whom 19 are workers, foremen and heads of sections who work directly in production.

The executive bureau has in its leadership one president, five-seven vice presidents, of whom two-four are workers and foremen from the main branches of production, and one secretary.

The executive bureau is approved by the council of workers and meets once each half and as many times as necessary.

Article 20. The executive bureau heads the entire activity in the period between the plenum meetings of the workers council and insures fulfillment of the decisions adopted by the conference and the county workers council.

Article 21. The provisions of Articles 17-20 are provided accordingly to the Bucharest municipal workers council and its executive bureau.

Article 22. The decisions of the county and Bucharest municipal workers councils and of their executive bureaus are obligatory for the collective leadership organs in the industrial centrals, enterprises and other similar units within the administrative-territorial range of the particular county. The decisions are adopted by open vote, with the majority of its members.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly at its 23 December 1981 meeting.

**SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS**

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Nov-Dec 81 pp 1059-1066

[Article by C. Pintilie, Fl. Virgil and Nica Sabin: "Scientific, Technical and Vocational Training of Agricultural Workers Under the Conditions of the Agrarian Revolution"]

[Text] The 12 RCP Congress and the Second Congress of the Leadership Councils of the Socialist Agricultural Units gave all those persons working in agriculture tasks of great responsibility to carry out a profound revolution in the technical-material base and the organization of agricultural production during the coming years. Carrying out this objective requires a complex and multilateral effort, in whose framework an especially important role is played by activities to provide technical, scientific and vocational training to the future cadre of specialists and all agricultural workers.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said that the agrarian revolution that we propose to carry out is not possible without a high professional level in all those who work in agriculture, from the cooperatist peasant and agricultural worker to the agronomist engineer and highly trained researcher. At the same time, it is necessary to have a substantial improvement in the entire system for training personnel and the workforce in agriculture.

The current organization of education in our country allows for providing training for the agricultural workforce on three levels: a) the training of certain highly qualified personnel, engineers and veterinarian doctors within the framework of higher agricultural education; b) the training of certain middle-level personnel (technicians, equipment operators and so forth) within the framework of middle-level specialized education and vocational schools; c) the mass training of agricultural workers through the mandatory 10 year general education program and through other forms of mass agricultural education.

Special responsibility belongs to higher agricultural education designed to ensure the training of future agronomist engineers, horticulturalists and zootechny specialists, land improvement engineers and veterinarian doctors. These are the people who will have to implement the great objectives outlined by the party in the field of agriculture, to carry out the agrarian revolution and to raise our agriculture to the level of the greatest advances and requirements of modern science and technology.

Numerous times, during his visits to the "Nicolae Balcescu" Agronomic Institute and other agronomic institutes, as well as in his speech at the Second Congress of the Entire Peasantry, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Higher agricultural education organically combining studies with practical activities and research must provide a cadre of agricultural specialists capable of applying agricultural science with a maximum of efficiency, of efficiently using the experience of our peasantry and of ensuring the largest possible agricultural harvests and production in all sectors of activity."

In our country, there are five agronomic institutes which annually turn out approximately 2,000 specialists in different fields. Following the urgings of the party and its secretary general, these institutes are trying hard to become powerful centers of education, research and production that will train new generations of highly qualified personnel for agriculture capable, from their first day on the job, of becoming active factors in raising agriculture to a higher level and in the vast process of revolutionizing our socialist agriculture.

The organic integration of higher agronomic education with production, planning and scientific research, a process that is in the midst of being carried out and improved, represents the solid footing for the thorough, theoretical and practical training of future specialists and for the fulfillment of the tasks of great responsibility belonging to higher agricultural education. This revolutionary concept regarding the organization of higher education ensures the full use of all the work and creative capacities that our faculties possess and creates the best conditions for the students' and teaching faculties' active participation in the achievement of the special tasks given to agriculture by the party.

In analyzing the tasks and perspectives of higher agricultural education in the light of the objectives of the agrarian revolution which we will be called upon to carry out in the coming years, we feel it is necessary to stress several aspects which we should especially give our attention so as to allow higher agricultural education to honestly fulfill its purpose and the tasks entrusted to it.

1. A basic objective is the continuing improvement of the content of higher agricultural education and the practical courses and projects, in accordance with the newest advances of agricultural science and technology and the technical-scientific revolution. The carrying out of the new agricultural revolution is influenced by the large-scale implementation of advanced technologies and the most advanced aspects of modern genetics and biology and of science and technology in general in agricultural practices. It is known that science and technology are currently experiencing an extremely rapid development and that new ideas and modern technologies are constantly appearing. Only that person who will know how to rapidly introduce them into production and fully use them will be able to obtain superior results, placing himself at a competitive level domestically and internationally.

The future specialists must be, therefore, thoroughly prepared, right from the classroom, with a knowledge of everything that is new in his specialized field, as well as the trends and directions of development of the diverse sectors of agriculture. As is noted in party documents, we have the job of eliminating everything that is outdated,

obsolete and without a future from the educational programs and of updating and improving from year-to-year the practical courses and projects by introducing new elements stemming from the advances of contemporary science and technology. It is sometimes necessary to introduce new course chapters (or even new disciplines if it is necessary) in order to equip the students with the newest problems in agricultural science and technology, such as genetic engineering, ecology, biochemistry and so forth.

At the same time, it is necessary to prepare specialists with a broad background capable of resolving specialized problems with scientific competency and of adopting relatively easily to the inevitable changes that will constantly take place in the structure of production and in crop technologies. The future agricultural specialist must also have a thorough knowledge in the areas of biology and genetics, mechanization and chemicals application, and in land improvement and other areas of agricultural activities. He must know how to work not only ideal conditions, which are only rarely encountered in practice, but also under specific diverse conditions determined by the nature of the soil, by the climatic conditions of a given year and by the technologies that we have available and which he must adapt to the specific conditions of the place where he works.

For that reason, it is necessary to have a continuing improvement of the programs of practical courses and projects in accordance with the evolution of contemporary science and technology and with the requirements imposed by contemporary social development and by the priorities stemming from the strategy of our social-economic development. Along this line, for example, it is necessary for us to give special attention to the students' mastery of certain new technologies that have reduced levels of energy and fuel consumption used in combatting pollution and eliminating the poisonous effects of inadequately using certain chemical substances.

2. The agrarian revolution also raises new problems with regards to the practical training of students under production conditions. Through the efforts of the party and state, favorable conditions have currently been created for a better practical training of students within our own experimental teaching stations where agricultural projects and other production activities are carried out directly by students, with the participation and under the permanent guidance of the teaching staff.

During these years, a certain positive experience has already been obtained in this area, with encouraging results. But, this is merely a beginning. It is known that the agrarian revolution requires a revolution in the technical-material base of agriculture, a complex mechanization, a rational chemicals application, a maximum use of the land and irrigated areas, an extension of intensive crops, a judicious rotation of crops and so forth. For that reason, the future agricultural specialist must master, right from the classroom, a large volume of practical knowledge, must know how to handle all types of agricultural tractors and machinery used in the country, must be able to carry out agricultural work at any time under the best possible conditions and must know how to apply advanced agro-techniques in a differentiated manner, depending upon the specific conditions in the unit where he works.

In order to be able to lead with competence, he must, first of all, know how to carry out the diverse agricultural projects and to gradually master over the years of his training the full variety of agricultural work, from the simple agricultural worker or person who cares for animals to the mechanized equipment operator, technician and, later, highly qualified specialist. When he finishes his schooling, he will have at the unit where he is assigned a powerful technical-material base that he must know how to use wisely for the purpose of obtaining greater production.

3. The theoretical and practical training is indissoluble linked to scientific research activities. The agrarian revolution requires a powerful development of agricultural science and technology, the permanent introduction of certain new technologies, the cultivation of certain new high efficiency varieties and the selection and raising of new breeds of animals having a higher biological potential. The future specialist must be not only a good practitioner, but at the same time a researcher, a seeker of new things and an untiring fighter against routine and everything that is old. He must never be satisfied with what he has achieved, but constantly seek new paths of progress and decisively promote everything that is more advanced in science and technology. In this regard, right out of the classroom the future specialist must exhibit a passion for scientific research. For this reason, we must develop activities for student scientific clubs, involving the students to a greater degree in the faculties' research groups and in resolving priority scientific subjects. The experience of recent years proves that there is a great potential for scientific research among the ranks of the students that must be fully used. It therefore appears necessary to cultivate a lively desire among the ranks of the students to go beyond themselves, beyond their professors to permanently work to achieve new hybrid varieties having great production potential, having a higher useful substance content, having a short growth period and having a resistance to diseases and pests, and to improve animal breeds that have higher birth rates and higher efficiency.

4. Closely related to the above is the problem of follow-on training for personnel. Agriculture needs specialists who will work the technology of the year 2000 and even the technology of the beginning of the third millenia. This is even more so since the current technical-scientific revolution has taken especially broad steps in the field of biological sciences, a field where we expect to see fundamental discoveries in the coming years that will radically transform the technologies of agricultural processes. Under these conditions, no matter how well prepared a specialist might be when he graduates from school, if he does not put out a permanent scientific effort, if he does not study specialized literature to constantly keep up with new events, he will inevitably fall behind, become a victim of routine and become a hindrance to the progress of agriculture.

For that reason, it is necessary to have a permanent effort in the periodical follow-on training of all personnel in agriculture and an improvement in the yearly courses for training and follow-on training, which will be conducted with the participation of the best specialists and will be organized in the most appropriate regions and units for this purpose.

5. An essential aspect of the agricultural revolution is the revolution in the organization and management of agriculture. This requires the continuing strengthening of

the role of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial councils, the spread of the experiences of the outstanding agricultural units, the firm introduction of the new economic-financial mechanism into agriculture, the increase of the efficiency of agricultural production, the reduction of costs, and especially material costs, the growth in the profitability of agricultural units and so forth. All this requires that the future agricultural specialists, out of necessity, will have to possess a thorough economic understanding of their specialties, to know how to wisely handle economic factors, to acquire the skills of being good managers, to be capable of competently leading agricultural units and to efficiently administer the goods that society has entrusted to them.

During the years in school, it is necessary for the students to get a solid economic training, both theoretical and practical in nature, and to acquire the skills to see the problems of agricultural production not only from a specialized technical point of view, but also from an economic one. At the same time, it is necessary to acquire right from the classroom the skills to lead an agricultural unit, with an important role being played in this regard by the practical exercises in organization and management that are conducted in the last year of school and that must be carried out in outstanding agricultural units so that the future specialist will be able, from his first day, to implement the positive experiences acquired in the practice units.

Keeping in mind the special significance of economic problems and problems of efficiency at the current moment and in the future, we believe it would be opportune to analyze the possibility of having training for economists in agriculture to be conducted in the agronomic institutes. In support of this proposal, we can mention that the best results in training agrarian economists were obtained during the period of 1970 to 1975 when the agrarian economy departments (sections) operated within the framework of the agronomic institutes. The graduates from this period are also currently working in the agricultural units, while the graduates from later years, although they were trained for agriculture, left agriculture, employing themselves in other sectors of the national economy.

In the same context, we can mention that it would be useful to analyze the possibility of training mechanized equipment engineers within the framework of the agronomic institutes, as well as engineers in the field of the food industry. In this manner, we would have a unified system for training all the specialists slated for agriculture and the food industry, in full agreement with the current requirements of integrating agriculture.

6. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, the agricultural revolution also involves a revolution in the awareness of those who work in this field and the formation of an advanced, revolutionary awareness. Carrying out the agrarian revolution requires of the future specialists and all those who work in this field not only a high level of scientific and vocational training, but also a high revolutionary awareness, the broadening of their political and ideological horizons and the understanding and application of the laws of social development. A person who will work in agriculture must, first of all, understand agriculture, love agriculture, love its activities, understand village life and become part of it. For that reason, only those persons who have worked in agriculture should have access to the institutes of higher agricultural education, those persons who know both the difficulties and the satisfaction

that are encountered in agricultural work and who have decided to dedicate their entire ability and work to raise agriculture and village life to the level of the requirements of our socialist society. We can no longer allow graduates of certain higher agricultural education institutes to seek work in offices or in other sectors of activity. They must go into agriculture and carry out their profession as they were trained.

Right from their years in school, the students' social awareness must be developed so that they can be educated in a revolutionary spirit and because the future specialists must always be politicians, leaders and party activists who are firmly and responsibly involved in resolving complex problems of a political, social and cultural nature in the rural communities.

7. In light of what has been pointed out above, it is necessary to have a substantial improvement in the didactic-scientific and political-educational activities of the teaching staffs in the agronomic institutes. It is especially necessary to have a permanent concern for the improvement of their own training, an indispensable condition for improving the content of the practical courses and projects and the entire instructional-educational process to the level of the newest advances of science and technology. We must have a more direct and more efficient involvement of the teaching staffs in scientific research activities, especially with regards to the full and efficient use of the land, the improvement of the production potential of the land, the creation of biological materials having a high production capacity, the elaboration of new production technologies having increased economic efficiency and reduced levels of energy consumption, the improvement of the system of agricultural machinery and the elaboration of certain improved methods for organizing and managing socialist agricultural units.

The level of training of future agricultural specialists is influenced in a decisive manner by the quality of the teaching staff, as well as by the technical-material base that the units of higher agricultural education have available.

Our proposals tend to support the idea of the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Training, which points out that we must move towards the consolidation of educational institutes having great traditions and personnel with higher training.

Carrying out the agrarian revolution raises important problems with regards to the training of personnel, not only at a higher level, but also at a medium-level. In this regard, there are tasks of great responsibility for the specialized agro-industrial high schools. Each county currently has a broad network of such educational units where 86,634 students are studying. In addition to this, there are over 5,000 students in vocational schools and 1,000 in agricultural masters schools. Thus, agriculture receives approximately 2,000 medium-level specialized personnel each year.

With regards to the medium-level specialized education, we feel that several problems clearly stand out:

a. The improvement of the content of the educational process. The agricultural high schools must provide a better theoretical and practical training for the students. The graduates of these schools must be capable of directly going into production and of making their appropriate contribution to the carrying out of activities and to the obtaining of certain better results. For this, they must have a proper technical and thorough practical knowledge and be immediately integrated into production and they must participate in the modernization of agriculture and the growth of production.

To this end, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry's proposal is fully justified that in the structure of the educational plan of the agro-industrial high schools the percentage of the specialized disciplines should represent 30 percent of the total number of hours of instruction compared to the 17 percent that is scheduled. Similarly, it is especially important for the agro-industrial high schools to be integrated with a state agricultural unit where the student can effectively participate in agricultural projects.

b. Among the ranks of the young people in the rural areas, it is necessary to cultivate to a greater degree the desire to stay and work in agriculture, the love and passion for this work and the awareness that agriculture represents a vast field for the affirmation of young people, that here they can fully use their energy, their desire to learn and work and their creative abilities, that they can obtain the greatest professional, material and moral satisfaction and that they can fully realize themselves as advanced people in our society.

c. At the same time, we feel that the relationship must be improved between the specialized personnel having higher studies and those with middle-level studies, in favor of the latter. Currently, of the total of approximately 45,000 agricultural specialists who are working directly in agricultural, 36 percent have higher training and 44 percent middle-level training. This relationship is currently inappropriate.

In other countries having advanced agriculture, the number of personnel with middle-level training exceeds that of the personnel having higher training. We feel it is natural for each person with higher training there should be two to three persons with middle-level training. This is the source of the need to considerably increase the number of middle-level persons in agriculture.

The agrarian revolution also raises significant problems with regards to the general training of all workers in agriculture. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the agrarian revolution is not possible without a high vocational level in all agricultural workers and without the continuing improvement of their qualifications.

"Every agricultural worker, every cooperatist, every peasant must master the richest possible amount of technical and biological knowledge that is in step with the newest advances of modern agricultural science and know how to handle every type of agricultural tractor and machinery used in the country." At the same time, we must keep in mind that the number of people employed in agriculture will continue to decline, with its percentage being 29 percent at the current time and approximately 12-15 percent

in 1990. Under these conditions, it is necessary to raise the level of vocational training for agricultural workers as an essential condition for increasing labor productivity and obtaining certain superior harvests under conditions where the number of workers in agriculture is declining.

The agricultural worker who is called upon to participate in carrying out the agrarian revolution must have a solid knowledge of agrotechny, biology, chemistry and mechanics and understand the biological processes that take place in agriculture and be able to competently carry out diverse agricultural work. For this, it is necessary that during the 10 years of mandatory general education the student will be equipped, first of all, with the basic knowledge needed to carry out agricultural work and will learn theoretically and practically how agricultural work must be carried out, how animals must be cared for and what are the newest agricultural work methods.

At the same time, it is necessary to have a better organization of mass agricultural education. The largest part of those who are currently working in agriculture long ago left the classroom and do not have the knowledge necessary to carry out a modern agriculture. For that reason it is necessary, through mass agricultural education that involves all agricultural workers, to offer the broadest possible agrotechnical knowledge to the peasantry and to help them to master and apply the results of scientific research and advanced experiences in agriculture. In this regard, an important role can be played by the activities of the Agronomist Centers.

Finally, it is necessary to have a sustained activity for the creation and development of socialist awareness in agricultural workers, for the elimination of old mentalities inherited from the past with regards to the methods of cultivating the land, for the improvement of the quality of agricultural work, for the stimulation of the farm spirit, for the cultivation of every corner of land, for the continuation of advanced traditions at a high level regarding the raising of poultry and animals, and so forth.

Certainly, there are numerous other problems that arise in connection with the scientific, technical and vocational training of agricultural workers. We are talking about a complex, multilateral and long-term task, but one that can be resolved fully responsibly by those who are working in this field.

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YOUNG FACTORY WORKERS POLLED ON ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE, WORK

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[Article by Matei Simandan, a graduate of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy's post-graduate correspondence course on sociology: "The Process of Social Learning in Young People's Participation in Self-Management"]

[Text] During the current stage of development of our socialist society, the scientific knowledge of social realities and the understanding of the laws of social phenomena and processes represent an indispensable condition for elaborating certain efficient strategies of social action for the purpose of having practical solutions to the problems raised by continuing to build socialism in Romania and raising it to a qualitatively new level.

The improvement of the democratic framework for the masses' participation in the carrying out of the objectives of the party's policies, the involvement of all categories of workers in resolving the tasks required by the economic-social development of the country, the full affirmation of the young people as an important social force in contemporary progress and the growth in their participation in the management of social affairs constitute, without a doubt, an area of problems where scientific research has not delayed its interest and where it has been conducted.

In the last 15 years, the stress of social research into different aspects linked to the integration of young people into our country's economic-social and political affairs also resulted in the diversification of the centers of interest regarding the real problems of the young generation's work and life, under conditions of concentrating the efforts of all the authorities and institutes that currently contribute to carrying out the educational process in our country.

Purpose and Objectives of the Research. Methodology Used

The sociological research that I undertook in several economic units in Arad County (the Arad Railcar Enterprise [ARE], the Arad Textile Enterprise [ATE] and the Arad Chemical Fertilizer Combine [ACFC], totalling a group of 450 subjects selected on the basis of the volume and structure of their Union of Communist Youth [UCY] organizations), within the framework of certain workers groups made up primarily of young people, sought to show the relationship between the actions of the educational factors (family, schools, work group and youth organization) directed towards the formation of the young person for his active participation in the management of social

affairs, the degree of intensity and the system of motivation and aspirations, under the conditions of affirming the principles and practices of worker self-management.

Also taking into account the results of certain previous sociological investigations, we proposed to especially identify the psychological and moral areas that bring about the activation of participative values in the manifestations of young people in formal settings, as well as in informal work group settings, and in youth organizations and in the structures of worker democracy.

The information collected on the basis of a standardized questionnaire calling for the opinions of the subjects being questioned was subjected to a series of statistical processes (for example, frequency analysis, correlational analysis), with these being corroborated with other statistical data that was gathered from the records of the production units.

#### Research Indicators

The indicators tracked were divided into the following groups:

- a) the sociodemographic characteristics of the statistical groups that were studied (sex, age, occupation, education, father's occupation, political affiliation, activities within the UCY, RCP, trade union and other public organizations, period of time at the enterprise, period of time in that field of work);
- b) the young people's work and life ideals, corresponding to their different social, political and moral values and important for their future options (broadening the horizons of their professional, technical-scientific, cultural-educational, political-ideological knowledge; professional success, promotions in the political realm, success in life; their evaluation in the eyes of the people around them, their affiliation with a group on the basis of interpersonal, collegial, correct and friendly relations, security and personal comfort; achievement on an affective level, founding their own family; relaxation - free time; individualism; religiousity; social non-involvement; and so forth);
- c) the influences exercised by the family, school, the work group and the youth organization upon attitudes related to: the selection and mastery of a skill; the mastery of the norms for getting along with others; the setting of future goals; preparations to meet anything that might come up in life; the affirmation of the young person as a representative of the interests of the group to which he belongs; the understanding of and the struggle for personal interests;
- d) the participation of the young person in the process of worker self-management in the enterprise (evaluating one's own possibilities for contributing to the organization of work, to the improvement of the young people's working and living conditions and to the approval of certain decisions in the Workers Council; opinions regarding taking into consideration the proposals made by young people to improve work and living conditions; proposals made in the group and within the UCY organizations that are sent to the leadership of the enterprise or other authorities; the manner of resolving these proposals; knowing the status of plan fulfillment, the problems discussed in the

Workers Councils and the measures taken by the enterprise's collective leadership; the young people's representation in the Workers Councils; the revealing of certain dysfunctionalities and proposals for improvements).

The volume and structure of the statistical groups that were established in the three units that were investigated had at their bases the volume and structure of the youth organizations within these units, at the same time tracking how they were represented by sex, education and length of time in the enterprise.

#### The Principal Findings and Results of the Research

1. The process of social learning in participation in the management of public affairs is a continuing process that begins to take place right in the family environment and in general school. It continues and is amplified upon their entry into the ranks of pioneer and youth organizations, but especially during the process of being integrated into production.

The level of professional training, general culture, the horizons of general knowledge and the profession selected are in close correlation with the level of participative competency. Efficient participation cannot be achieved except under conditions where the knowledge and experiences of the young person are harmoniously blended, translating into involved, responsible attitudes and behaviors. To an equal degree, participation represents an act of will and an act of understanding. If the school, by inculcating and consolidating the system of general knowledge, prepares the ground for future participation, then the work environment and the UCY organization, by soliciting the availability of the young people for participation, constitutes even the grounds of this participation and a new framework of reference where the knowledge and skills acquired are activated and become deeds and conscious actions. The influences of these factors of an educational nature are superimposed upon each other and mutually reinforce one another.

With regards to the orientation towards the selection and mastery of a future skill, the family environment and school exercise an even more powerful influence than the other educational factors, including among the young people's motivations both the desire for professional expression and fulfillment in life through work and the attraction presented by certain jobs and the prestige conferred and the advantages offered by these jobs. The work group and the UCY organizations at the place of work even more significantly to the consolidation and clarification of pictures about the profession selected and to making the young people aware of the social significance of the options they have selected.

Thus, at the ARE 50.3 percent of the subjects stated that the family had had a great and very great influence upon the selection of their jobs, with 62.7 percent of them also recognizing the decisive role of the school in the selection made. At the ATE and the chemical combine the contribution made by the school was recognized by 58.9 percent and 56.5 percent, respectively, among the young people questioned in each of these enterprises.

The role of the work group is more accentuated with regards to mastery of the skill selected (54.4 percent of the young people at the ARE and 56.5 percent of those at

the Chemical Combine recognized this fact), adding to this fact that 33.8 percent of the young people at the ARE, 34.8 percent of those at the ATE and 38.5 percent of the young people at the Chemical Combine evaluated the influence of the UYC organization in their selection and mastery of a profession as being poor and very poor. These findings of a statistical nature become significant when they are viewed in relationship to the real and desired degree of stability of the young workers at the enterprises. The clarity of the picture that the young people have regarding their current profession and the work group coincides with the beginning of a process of accepting their participation, to the degree of their adaptation to and integration into the general activities of the enterprise. There are degrees of participation and different intensities in exercising certain formal or informal prerogatives and attributes with regards to participating in the resolution of professional and public problems within the enterprise. Our research showed the existence of a strongly significant correlation between the growth in the degree of participation in the activities of the collective leadership organs and the period of time (longer) spent in the enterprise.

This process, however, is not achieved in and of itself nor in the absence of an appropriate social-human context. A progressive attitude at work, sensitivity to the collective problems and the interests of the group as one's own problems, a growth of responsibility towards the activities and achievements of the enterprise require a real awareness of each worker's status as owner-producer-consumer, as well as the requirements that stem from this status. Clearly, participation in management and the carrying out of self-management is one of the workers' rights, but this means competency, a creative effort, a full commitment, decisive involvement in the problems of the present, daring and clear foresight in relationship to the tasks and objectives of the future.

The young person thus constitutes the material from which the multilateral person of tomorrow is built, a material that is moulded and moulded by itself under the influence of the multiple links through which the socialist living and working principles and standards are converted into behaviors and, effectively, into the results that are obtained.

With regards to the young people's mastery of the norms of social behavior, 61 percent of the young people at the ARE, 71 percent at the ATE and 70.9 percent at the Chemical Combine felt that they owed this to their families most of all. The noticeably close percentages are also found in the case of showing the schools' contribution to the internalization of the living norms and principles in our society: 49.5 percent of the young people at the ARE, 54.1 percent of those at the ATE and 48.1 percent of those at the Chemical Combine recognized the important role of the work group, with the percentages in this case being lower for the UCY organizations in these organizations, 35.1 percent, 37.2 percent and 43.2 percent, respectively. Therefore, it was found that the opinion of the young people leans toward giving the family and the school a more important role and contribution, in comparison to that of the work group and the youth organization, which points out the need to more strongly stress these latter groups as reference groups in the area of defining the values, purposes and ideals in life.

The affirmation of young people as representatives of the group to which they belong and the making of these people aware of the interests of the group to a greater degree than their strictly personal interests are categorically the result of the influence of the educational environment in which they live and work. Thus, the young people at the ARE first of all place the contribution of the UCY organization at 46.2 percent, followed by the contribution of the family (for 38.7 percent of them), of the school (36.3 percent) and the work group (33.8 percent). At the ATE, the situation is somewhat different, with the order being the following: school - 50.5 percent, the work group - 45.7 percent, the UCY organization - 44.5 percent, and the family - 29.6 percent. At the Chemical Combine, the situation is similar to that at the ATE, with the percentages showing very little difference: 45.7 percent, 40.8 percent, 39.7 percent and 32.4 percent. There is an interdependency between the parameters of the social-human and relational climate and the young people's participation which becomes more active as the socio-affective climate improves and as the centrifugal tendencies, conflictual states and reasons for dissension decrease.

The affirmation of young people as representatives of the group to which they belong is far from being achieved automatically or without the creation of certain decisive changes in their awareness, in their manner of dealing with the problems facing the group and in their attitudes referring to the interests, goals and mission of the group to which they belong. For 41.2 percent of the young people at the ARE, the UCY organization makes an important and very important contribution to carrying out these changes. For 54.1 percent of those at the ARE, the family has an important role, with the school having a similar role that is no less important, a fact pointed out by 49.3 percent. Taking into account the structure of the workforce of young people in this unit and the overwhelming presence of young people in relation to the other categories of persons, this situation is not lacking in significance. For 48.1 percent of the subjects investigated at the Chemical Combine, the work group was the most appropriate ally for the young people for understanding and identifying with collective interests and mobilizing the young people to carry them out.

A fact that should also be pointed out is tied to the manner in which the young people understand and work for the expression of their personal interests, as well as the influence exercised by each environment that has been mentioned upon the attitudes of the young people with regards to the relationship between collective interests and individual interests. The family proves to be the principal educational context in which these personal interests are expressed and are valued from a moral and operational point of view: 53 percent among the young people at the ATE, 47 percent of those at the ARE and 44.5 percent of those at the Chemical Combine felt that the family environment contributes to a great and very great degree to making the young people aware of their personal interests. The relatively low percentages of the young people who identified the role of the UCY organization and the work group in the structure and expression of their personal interests especially indicate the stress that these educational environments place upon the priority expression of collective interests. This suggests a necessity to take into consideration to a greater degree than up to now, within the UCY organization, the understanding and satisfaction of the young people's personal interests, whose resolution constitutes a guarantee for their identification with group to which they belong.

2. The participation of young people in management, both through the institutionalized forms of collective management and through their implications along the formal channels for the movement of information, proposals and reports by the workers and through the organisms of public control, essentially shows two main problems:

- a) the form of the young people's representation in the collective management organisms (the Workers Councils);
- b) the content of the activities of participating in management and, therefore, the effective contribution of the young people to the solution of certain problems of a collective interest, the proposals made for the purpose of improving work, living conditions and the organizational framework of the participation, concomitantly with the reporting of the deficiencies that are still expressed in this area.

These problems are closely tied to the manner in which the forms and methods of work and collective management are applied at each level of collective work and to the existing concern for the continued improvement of the style of collective management.

The young people who were asked to respond in our investigation showed that they were confident in their opportunities to contribute to a better organization of work in the collectives to which they belonged. In this regard, 57.8 percent of the young people are the ATE, 49.3 percent of those at the Chemical Combine and 39.6 percent of those at the ARE felt that they could contribute to a greater degree through their effective actions for a better organization of work in the group where they worked. We have in mind the organization of production, technical-material supply, the assignment of tasks, cooperation in production and so forth.

With regards to the opinions of the young people questioned regarding their opportunities to intervene along the lines of improving working conditions, significant differences appeared between the units investigated: 46.8 percent of the total number of young people at the ATE and 46.9 percent of the total at the Chemical Combine stated that they could have a significant contribution (great and very great) to improving working conditions, while only 26.4 percent of the total at the ARE said they could. With regards to the opportunities for actions directed towards improving the young people's living conditions as the factory, we note that approximately one-third of the total number checked at the Chemical Combine and nearly 40 percent of those at the ATE felt that they were capable of making a contribution to the solution of this type of problem, compared to only 23 percent of the young people at the ARE, an enterprise where 47 percent of the subjects questioned felt that their opportunities to intervene in this area were fewer.

Table 1

Enterprise	Degree in which proposals to improve work are considered	Total	Usually	Sometimes	Usually	Never	No Answer
			Yes	No	Never	Answer	
ARE		19.9	17.3	42.4	14.0	6.6	.2
ATE		18.8	25.3	31.7	16.2	4.0	6.0
Chemical Combine		13.3	19.2	42.1	17.2	3.0	5.2

The subjects contained in the research provide an edifying picture as well as the status of the proposals made by the young people with regards to improving work and their problems in life.

Table 2

Enterprise	Degree in which young people's proposals to improve work are considered	Usually			Finally		No Answer
		Total	Yes	Sometimes	Never		
ARE		9.9	14.8	47.8	10.7	9.0	7.8
ATE		15.6	19.2	40.9	13.2	6.3	4.8
Chemical Combine		13.2	25.3	37.3	7.2	6.0	1.0

Thus, at the ARE 37.1 percent of the young people stated that they made a number of proposals within the work group, and 47.1 percent that they made a number of proposals within the youth organization. At the ATE, of the total number of young people questioned, 44.5 percent and 39.7 percent, respectively, made proposals in the work group and in the meetings of the UCY organization. At the Chemical Combine, the percentage of those who made a number of proposals in the work group is somewhat higher (50.6 percent).

The young people, however, are careful not only with regards to the manner in which their requests and proposals are transmitted, but they also prove to be extremely sensitive to the manner in which they are answered and their problems resolved.

Although over 40 percent of the young people questioned during our investigation mentioned the fact that they received an answer, and the percentage of those that stated they were satisfied with the manner in which their proposals were resolved varied. Only 8.2 percent of the young people at the ARE, 13.2 percent of those at the ATE and 6 percent of those at the Chemical Combine specified the fact that all the proposals made were resolved, while 27.2 percent of the young people at the ARE, 22.4 percent of those at the ATE and 25.3 percent of those at the Chemical Combine pointed out that none of their proposals were resolved. The young people questioned showed a pronounced interest in getting effective and expansive information regarding the problems of fulfilling the production plan, the agenda of the discussions in the Workers Councils and the programs of measures approved by the collective management organs. Thus, if with regards to the status of fulfilling the plan the young people stated that they are more or less kept informed and appropriately kept current, with regards to the problems discussed in the Workers Councils only 13.5 percent of the young people in the ARE felt informed to a considerable degree about these problems, with 52.8 percent reporting that they were little or very little satisfied with their level of information. At the ATE, 25.2 percent of the young people felt that they were informed to a great or very great degree, differing from the 45.6 percent who felt that they were poorly informed. At the Chemical Combine, 19.2 percent of the young people stated that they were informed to a considerable degree regarding the problems discussed in the Workers Councils, while 40.5 percent said the level was unsatisfactory.

In reference to the aspects of the young people's participation in management and self-management at the level of the enterprises, it is appropriate to also note other findings tied to the correlations established concerning length of time in the enterprises and the activities carried out in the UCY organizations.

We should note the fact that the longer the young people's length of employment in the enterprises the more they felt that they had something to say regarding the proper organization of the work in the group, the improvement of the working and living conditions and the adoption of certain decisions by the Workers Council.

With regards to the manner in which their proposals are taken into consideration, we did not find a significant relation to the length of time in the enterprises. This indicates, on one hand, that upon entering these work groups the young people feel directed towards working without delay, advancing proposals and calling for the improvement of activities, while, on the other hand, the response that they receive most of the time constitutes a guarantee that they will receive a hearing the next time.

The number of proposals made by the young people in the work groups and in the meetings of the UCY increases directly proportionally with the length of time in the enterprise, as well as their level of knowledge of the status of the plan fulfillment and the problems discussed in the Workers Council. Notable differences can also be noted at the level of the relationships between the degree of involvement in UCY organization activities and some aspects of the young people's participation in management.

The young people who belong to the elected organs of the UCY exhibited a more pronounced ability to deal with public problems and those related to participation in management and self-management in relationship to those UCY members who only occasionally fulfill certain tasks or who do not have tasks in the organization. There were no differences noted between UCY members elected to UCY organs and other young people with regards to evaluating the manner in which the proposals they make are taken into consideration for improving work and resolving their problems in life. It was found, however, that the number of proposals made increased directly proportionately with the level of involvement in organization activities.

The UCY members in the elected organs of the UCY are more up to date than other young people regarding the resolution of proposals made within the work groups or the UCY organizations: 23.8 percent of the young people at the ARE elected to UCY organs, 40 percent of those at the ATE and 13.6 percent of those at the Chemical Combine stated that all the proposals were resolved; 93.5 percent of the young people at the ARE who do not have UCY tasks, 63.1 percent of those at the ATE and 76 percent of those at the Chemical Combine stated that all their proposals were resolved.

These situations point to a phenomenon which, because of its consequences, puts its imprint on the participation of the young people in management: the close tie that exists between the degree of involvement in youth organization activities and the degree of participation in management and self-management. The youth organization

constitutes not only a framework for the political expression of the young people in relation to specific problems, but also the framework for outlining a participative behavior characterized by increased interest, commitment and responsibility with regards to the imperative of the young people's participation in worker management and self-management.

The process of social learning by participating in management and self-management is neither linear nor sequential, it does not refer to one period or another in the lives of young people and it does not deal merely with certain institutes or educational contexts. This complex and long-term process are a continuous nature: achieving it involves the family, the school, the work group, the UCY organization and the entire group of educational factors and environments.

As the party documents indicate, the improvement of the framework for participation in management and self-management is currently a categoric imperative for moving to a new quality, pointing out the requirement for all workers, and especially young people, to understand and to be actively involved in the problems of collective work and management. This constitutes an important component of the strategy of implementing the new economic-financial mechanism and of affirming worker self-administration and self-management. In this regard, the organization of educational actions and discussions with young people for the purpose of understanding and spreading positive experiences and clarifying the different problems that they encounter in the process of participating in management and self-management are capable of contributing to a further understanding of their attributes and authority in the collective management organs and of the aspects that must come to the attention of the UCY organs and organizations in such a way so as to constitute authentic motive forces for new things in all our economic-social activities.

The changes that are taking place in the young people's participative awareness involve the young people's values and ideals in life, the manner of relating to individual problems, and especially collective problems, and the internalization of certain ethical-political norms and principles specific to our society. All this calls for a new view and an operational commitment marked by a sense of social responsibility giving the young people's participation in management a truly new value and a new superior quality.

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CSO: 2700/154

## BRIEFS

'SLANDERING PATRIOTIC WRITERS' CRITICISM--The regrettable publication in the review FAMILIA of an interview with Norman Manea, in which he makes remarks about our review [sentence as published]. We would like to remind the publication and the author of this interview that in regard to the matter brought up by Norman Manea after such a long time, SAPTAMINA was limited to two lines of exaggerations contained in the article under discussion. This interview would not have attracted attention if, in the phrases published so generously by the review FAMILIA, assertions had not been made which cast doubt upon the principles of our cultural policy, with a consistency worthy of a better cause. Poets and prose writers with a patriotic, party-minded program are slandered and it seems to us that it is not by chance that Alex. Stefanescu and Gh. Grigurcu (the author of the interview with Norman Manea), writing in the Iasi review CONVORBIRILE LITERARE, denigrate the same authors whom Norman Manea attacks. The review SAPTAMINA states, once again, its solemn pledge to promote literature with a profoundly patriotic and party-minded character, which contradicts regrettable attitudes such as those mentioned above which deliberately ignore the values of our present-day literature and concern with giving expression to the policy of our communist party, in the spirit and forms favorable to artistic creation. [Text] [Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 15 Jan 82 p 3]

GALATI APPOINTMENT--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the People's Council of Galati County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Gavrilescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the People's Council of Galati County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 7 Jan 82 p 3]

CSO: 2700/165

KRUNIC DISCUSSES AUTONOMY OF VOJVODINA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 81 SEDAM DANA pp 1, 4

[Interview with Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee, by Jovo Paripovic, VJESNIK editor for Vojvodina, and Pero Pletikosa, VJESNIK editor in chief, on 17 December 1981: "Autonomy Is No One's Decree, But a Revolutionary Achievement"; place not specified]

[Text] "At the 12th LCY Congress, at the republic congresses and the provincial conferences of the LC we must clearly indicate, critically and self-critically, our own errors, shortcomings and difficulties. We must also say where there have been departures from that basic course in the development of our revolution, and give that course further affirmation.

"Perhaps we will not have time enough to go into all the causes, for example, of the alienation of income, of the stumbling in production relations; we dare not be satisfied with blanket criticism of usurpers of power, of technocratic centers of power, of the banks and of executive agencies.... That would be an indication that we are going around in circles, and we would not guarantee development of self-management thought and practice. That is why it will be extremely important for us to overcome cases of opportunistic resignation to the flow of things and to guarantee a thoroughly critical attitude toward our own practice." With these words Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee indicated the main lines of activity of the LCY in preparations for the 12th LCY Congress and the LC republic congresses and provincial conferences, in an interview which he gave on Thursday to Pero Pletikosa, VJESNIK's editor in chief.

"It is very important now," Bosko Krunic said, "for us to orient all activity toward implementing the policy and tasks of socioeconomic stabilization, toward strengthening and bolstering our democratic political system and especially the delegate system, and toward equipping the LC to fill its role, discharge its responsibility and perform its tasks through efforts within the system. I am referring here above all to primary organizations of the LC. They are not yet at the heart and the center of social events.

"All of this is favorable to a strengthening of the power of executive bodies from basic organizations of associated labor all the way up to the Federation. There are strong tendencies toward a strengthening of hierarchical relations and a thrust of technocratic views and solutions, manifestations of caviling, of

passivity, of opportunism, and of negative attitudes in carrying out the delegate system. So that our executive councils have been too little 'oriented' toward the delegate assemblies and the delegate system as a whole. All of this encourages the delegates in assemblies of sociopolitical communities to behave more like deputies and not as delegates. Of course, there are also other reasons for this. But my point is that there would be considerably less of all that if we had succeeded to a more substantial degree in building the LC into the delegate system in such a way that it becomes the basic driving force of that system, and in the SAWP as the front of the organized socialist forces. These things are slow to change, and I think that we are confronted by a serious opportunism affecting our ranks.

"It turns out that we in the League of Communists have been rather slow to react to certain adverse phenomena that have accompanied our development, and we have thus been facilitating penetrations of various negative attitudes and tendencies, such as the reviving manifestations of statist tendencies, for example.

"You know, in the kind of complicated economic and political conditions that we have not only within the country, but in the world as well, various tendencies which are opposed to socialist self-management are becoming stronger, and statist tendencies are also becoming stronger accordingly. There is nothing new about this pattern. Whenever we have had or been in difficulties, those forces have emerged and offered us their own solutions, which we are now quite familiar with, and they have offered us the old methods. Not infrequently these tendencies are packaged in what I might call a 'self-management wrapper,' are stated in self-management terminology, and so on, so that they might have greater popularity with the public at large. Often they use cheap demagogic slogans, they advocate leveling and they launch the bureaucratic thesis of 'unity at any price,' and so on. Bureaucratic and technocratic cases of usurpation of the self-management rights of the working people and of a strengthening of the role of the administration and staff services on that basis are really very strong today, and I think that we have not been sufficiently committed as the League of Communists in the ideological exposure of those tendencies and in the concrete struggle against those who embody them. This is extremely important today, since through their activity they are carrying out a direct attack on our system, elements of instability and spontaneity of being drawn into the system, and the functioning of our system is the most sensitive area. The League of Communists has a constitutional responsibility and obligation in this area, and it must wage a more resolute fight against such tendencies."

#### Impermissible Logic

[Question] Recently, bureaucratic and liberalistic forces have "been offering" certain different solutions and have been interpreting in their own way the basic principle governing the organization and relations in the LCY--democratic centralism.

[Answer] I want to say at the outset that we have always paid a great deal of consideration to the principle of democratic centralism. We have spoken about it quite a bit in our documents at the 10th and 11th congresses as well. Comrade Tito spoke about that specifically, and it would seem that all this should be

clear. It is a good thing that discussions are beginning concerning democratic centralism. This should be made to serve the development of democratic relations in the LC and a strengthening of responsibility under present conditions. But it will not be good if those bureaucratic conceptions become stronger. That is, at present one notices even this kind of logic: things in society are not going as they should, or are not going fast enough, and the reason is that we have watered down the way in which the party operates and have thereby prevented it from performing its own role and tasks, and so on, so that now it is necessary for decisions to be made somewhere in some body, in some organ, which everyone will have to carry out. It is a question of advocating the bureaucratic thesis of more work, established, of course, from above. That kind of logic is familiar to us. It takes us back to certain memories and parallels.

To return relations today to that form of democratic centralism which was dominant in the period of revolutionary statism would signify a narrowing and indeed frustration of the further development of socialist self-management and a return of the relations among the nationalities based on the socioeconomic foundations of self-management to relations based on the force of the centralistic state.

[Question] When unity of the LCY is mentioned, it has not been uncommon recently to mention as well invigoration of the theses of a federalization of relations in the LCY. Where in your opinion are these theses drawn from?

[Answer] I might say in brief: the LCY has always been and will remain a unified political-ideological organization of the working class and of the other working people of Yugoslavia. This does not signify a striving for bureaucratic monolithism. On the contrary, it is a question of a unified organization, above all in its political ideology and action, in its organization and its programmatic orientation, and so on. That is why it needs to be said that we are talking about the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as it stands in the bylaws, as a unified organization of all the members and their organizations within the SFRY, which is developing and acting on the basis of their unified ideological orientation and political commitment in the fight for the historic interests of the working class and the common interests, national equality, brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of our country, and on the basis of the equal status, independence and responsibility of the LC's of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces. It is probably from this fact that they would like to derive the thesis of federalization of relations in the LCY. Or perhaps from certain examples, cases.... But I do not see the phenomenon as such. I therefore think that it is a bit forced and strained. In any case, the 12th LCY Congress will certainly render its judgment on that matter.

However, for all these reasons it needs to be said that the unity of the LCY can be strengthened only in an effort to achieve the goals and tasks set forth in the program, through a strengthening of responsibility, through a strengthening of working-class criteria and the content of political action, through a strengthening of the linkage between the League of Communists and the working class, the nationalities and the ethnic minorities, and above all through a strengthening of the role and responsibility of every party member and of every primary organization of the LC. This is the principal direction of our activity. But this is not a matter of letting things take their course and of simple logic. This must be built through conscious political-ideological action by party members.

### Autonomy Is a Part of the Whole

[Question] Comrade Kremic, discussions of autonomy and relations within SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia have become topical once again of late. How are the questions of autonomy looked upon in Vojvodina?

[Answer] This Yugoslavia was created in the revolution. The achievements of that revolution are an essential part of its being, of its stability and of its perspective. Those achievements include government by the people, brotherhood and unity, and the federal system. Postwar development has confirmed the importance of these achievements and has given them a new expressive power in democratic social development. It was Comrade Tito who watched over those achievements and saw in them Yugoslavia's strength and future. Even at a time when the mass movement and technocratic liberalism were striking us "from the flank" Comrade Tito was insisting on reform of the Federation and on strengthening socialist self-management as an integral social relation. This instilled new strength in our unity and consensus in Yugoslavia, that democratic social development and federalism which suits our social being, as an achievement, not a negotiated settlement, since a settlement may also involve one or more parties who have not fared well.

The question of Vojvodina's autonomy can be examined in this light. It did not come about by decree, by virtue of someone's right or a negotiated settlement; it was a revolutionary achievement created in an armed struggle in which the nationalities and ethnic minorities made a worthy contribution to creation of the new federal Yugoslavia.

So, autonomy is a part of the whole, a part of relations in Yugoslavia, and it cannot be negated without harm being done to that whole. Without it the birth and foundations of federalism cannot be altogether explained; that is, the system of the Federation cannot be closed off, and such problems would strike at the "very heart" of that federalism itself. After all, if a departure from the revolutionary historic course is made on one side, then it may also be made on the other, and a demand may even be put forth to that effect.

The fact that autonomous Vojvodina is a member of federal Serbia, that it is a part of SR Serbia, is likewise an integral part of this question. No one has forced this upon the nationalities and ethnic minorities; they have made a voluntary choice, this was their historic interest, and with the development of democratic socialist self-management that interest has been constantly confirmed and enriched. The nationalities and ethnic minorities of Serbia have also opted for this specific spirit of community in Yugoslavia, since that is their historic interest which has been constantly confirmed. Accordingly, this principle of community represents a mutual interest, and these two communities, SR Serbia and Autonomous Vojvodina, are not a burden to one another. It is SR Serbia as so conceived that is a member of the federal system of Yugoslavia, and that is the framework of its equality with the other republics, that constitutes its specific nature.

[Question] There has been more talk about the relationship between SR Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces since the events in Kosovo, but there is discussion of this even before.

[Answer] The public is aware, though not sufficiently, that in SR Serbia we had discussions back in 1977, above all in organs of the LC. Unity was achieved in those discussions in that year, and the broad public within the party was so informed.

The tasks set forth and commitments made in those discussions were incorporated into documents and verified at the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia. I think that the resolutions adopted in 1977 are good ones. However, the problem is that we did not do enough to carry them out, and that above all within the League of Communists. In addition, many questions were exclusively related to the activity of executive bodies, and there was not sufficient broad involvement of the delegate base. That is why the agreements for resolving certain issues did not sufficiently take into account the need to resolve existing issues and problems in the way that we in the League of Communists had set forth. That is why the first question that arises here is the question of the responsibility of the League of Communists and of its organs for implementing or failure to implement the stands and resolutions it has adopted itself. It is a question of how we performed our own role and tasks in the system of socialist self-management as this was arranged by the 11th LCY Congress. I also think that we should not have allowed certain problems to pile up, but should have dealt with them one by one as they arose in the way that we had resolved.

I would like to say about the discussions in 1977 that the leadership of the LCY was informed about the results and resolutions, that the leadership bodies of the LC in the republic were informed, and that Comrade Tito was also informed about all this. Comrade Tito felt that it was a good thing that we had discussed those issues in that way, he was satisfied with the results and resolutions, and he pointed out that they were the foundations of our future effort. On that occasion Comrade Tito also cautioned that we should not wait, but should immediately settle the issues in succession.

#### What Is in Dispute?

[Question] How do you look upon the further development and improvement of community consensus in SR Serbia and Vojvodina?

[Answer] The constitution laid the foundation for elaborate instruments of consensus, and the "material" foundation of that community lies in the production relations of socialist self-management and in the complementarity of the economic and cultural space of those communities. If one makes a careful analysis, then the conclusion can be drawn that the picture of that community consensus is not really so bad. We have pronounced tendencies toward a growth of consensus rather than a moving apart in relations between SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina and Serbia proper.

You will put the question, of course--So what is then in dispute? First of all, the problems and disagreements arise over the foundations on which that consensus is to be achieved, over whether it is developing above all on the foundations of concluding agreements and through interests and linkups of associated labor, through respect for independence and self-management equality in relations among the entities and institutions of the political system from the autonomous province

and from Serbia proper, or should it be guaranteed by the functions of the republic, proceeding from the point of departure that under the constitution SR Serbia is a state and a self-managing community and that the province is thereby a part of the entire tissue of the integral tissue of the republic, with all the consequences of that integrity. I think that there are features here of a political-ideological conflict and that the League of Communists must have its word to say on it. The present status of the autonomous province within SR Serbia as a complex community is not only a "reminder" of the historic fact of entering into association to form a community and a criticism of bureaucratic centralism in the conception and accomplishment of community in the past, but it also has meaning in the sense of a strengthening of democracy and socialist self-management in Yugoslavia as a whole. So, we must fight to "set in motion" those self-management and socialist foundations of that community, and it is in that regard that I see the role and responsibility of the socialist autonomous provinces.

In the relations which we have built in Yugoslavia the question of the autonomous province and indeed the question of the republic has economic, social and cultural significance; these are the basic communities of social reproduction as a whole. And I think that that is not only a good thing, but in fact historically inevitable. Kardelj long ago warned that sociopolitical communities cannot be treated separately, aside from associated labor, and that such an approach would have a statist ring.

[Question] Is there any room, in your opinion, for assertions about SAP Vojvodina "closing itself off"?

[Answer] The phenomenon of exclusiveness is present at all levels of the organization of society, and therefore in the Province of Vojvodina as well. Precisely because the causes of this phenomenon are far deeper and grow up out of certain contradictions in our development. All I am saying here is that the problem of exclusiveness is actually a joint problem of the entire country and that it is unquestionably an expression of something which must be overcome above all through the effort to develop our socioeconomic relations of self-management, and not by strengthening statism and a technobureaucratic monopoly in decisionmaking.

There are cases where OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] "jump out" of certain systems in the republic; however, the examples of mutual linkage of organizations of associated labor are far more convincing, though it is true that the quality of that linkage varies. The figures indicate that the establishment of linkage has been growing steadily precisely with organizations within the republic, but not within the provinces. Then again on the other side we have examples which might be listed in the support of the "thesis" of a "separation of the republic from the province." There are, of course, also other and different examples. But those are still topics from the "endless belt" of debates on causes and consequences, on blame, on particularism, on cases of group-ownership behavior, and so on. Those topics will be with us for a long time yet, all the longer insofar as sociopolitical communities are the "guardians" of associated labor.

We must fight so that the socioeconomic system functions and so that we develop it further, and that means that integration in the republic, as indeed throughout the country, is to be based on linkage among organizations of associated labor on

the basis of income sharing, that integration be built on the foundations of the Law on Associated Labor, and that those are the true strategies for integration of the working class and for construction of community consensus as a whole.

#### There Is No Coalition With the Nationalists

[Question] You yourself have mentioned the thesis of a "separation" of the province from SR Serbia. How real is that thesis?

[Answer] The question has a point, since it follows from the statements which have been made in public to the effect that there has been a separation of the province from the republic. Yet basically that thesis of separation still contains a very important failure to grasp the essence of our system which we are developing and building on the basis of the 1974 Constitution and the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses.

In that context there is no question of a merger or a separation of the Province of Vojvodina, since it is a part of the Republic of Serbia and a constituent element of the Federation.

[Question] Recent assessments of the political and security situation in Vojvodina also mention a revival of hostile activity, and of nationalism among other things. It is true that those assessments say that the nationalistic expressions have not gone beyond the limits of verbal and isolated expression, but regardless of that I believe that you will agree with the observation that constant concern should be paid to these manifestations and a constant effort maintained so that they do not shake the spirit of community in such a multinational community as SAP Vojvodina.

[Answer] As it always has, nationalism today--under the new circumstances--lives off our shortcomings and objective difficulties on the domestic scene, it alertly looks in every direction in the search for external allies, it is in cahoots, sometimes openly, but always objectively, with those anti-Yugoslav forces in the world which would be very happy if Yugoslavia ceased to be what it is today, some of them bothered by its self-management character, others by its socialist character, and all by the prestige which Tito's Yugoslavia has won in the world and the role which it has therefore been playing. Not only nationalism, but indeed all our old "isms" are trying now to take advantage of the "favorable condition" of our problematical economic situation and the generally deteriorated international relations so that they might succeed in that dirty work with help from outside.

The counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and the ferocity of Great Albanian nationalism and irredentism displayed have left the most serious traces, above all on the unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Kosovo, but then also quite serious consequences for relations among the nationalities in general. To be sure, the LCY as a whole and all the nationalities and ethnic minorities have condemned those events and irredentism, but they will be an important topic for us for a long time, indeed even in their international implications.

[Question] To what extent, in your opinion, have the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo fired up the nationalistic forces in our country, including SAP Vojvodina?

[Answer] It is already clear from experience that this always takes place simultaneously, but also that it is especially disturbing when it breaks out at the heart of that nationality which is the majority.

Great Serbian nationalism has been fueled by what happened in Kosovo, and it is therefore a task of all of us, party members in SR Serbia and everywhere, not only to wage the most resolute fight against the Great Albanian irredentists with all available forces and means, but also to oppose the escalation of Great Serbian nationalism and at the same time every other nationalism. At present there are a great many mistaken ideas of all sorts about this, which has been resolutely pointed out within the League of Communists--last May, for example, in the address which Comrade Vlaskalic delivered at the 14th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Those members of the LC who--for one reason or another--are themselves objectively on pronationalistic positions are particularly responsible for causing that confusion. There is no coalition with nationalists, nor is there any substance to the theory of "bridges" to them, whatever may have been their merits in previous periods, whatever their influence and reputation in culture and other fields of experience, without that redounding to the harm of the prestige and unity of the LC and of its platform. Anyone who "on ethnic grounds" abandons even temporarily the class position and begins to play the coquette with nationalism runs the risk of causing a serious division into factions. That was confirmed in the period of the seventies so convincingly, not only in Croatia, but all over Yugoslavia, that this truly must not be repeated. In any case, we have the lessons before us, we need to use them wisely and in good time (concluded Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee).

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**YUGOSLAVIA**

**KOSOVO OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED IN ZAGREB STUDENT PAPER**

**Socialist Alliance Head**

**Zagreb STUDENSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 81 p 5**

[Interview with Azem Vllasi, president of the Presidency of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, conducted by Sanja Vrhovec and Stipe Oreskovic; date and place not given]

**[Text] STUDENSKI LIST:** What are the basic causes of and the contradictions in economic and social development in Kosovo during the last 10 years?

Azem Vllasi: It is common knowledge that during the postwar era, and especially in the last 10 years, there has begun a process of rather dynamic economic development, as well as development in all areas of the province. The results of this development are apparent. At one time, industrial projects were concentrated only in the larger population areas of the province, but today there is no opstina in Kosovo without important industrial projects. Compared to the earlier period, the number of people employed has grown considerably. The development of which I speak has been carried out with significant help of the broader social community as well as with the efforts of the working people and the working class of Kosovo. However, during this same period, Kosovo had to create a cadre potential, to enter on a large scale into the development of social activities and that which we call the superstructure, because this is closely connected with and helps to bring about greater overall progress and opportunities for economic development in Kosovo.

For these reasons we were compelled to set aside enormous resources for the education of cadres, for the expansion of the network of health facilities and other social services. Therefore, this is one of the factors, I should say, which to some extent limited the amount of money which could be put into greater, more important investments, in business projects, where, it is understood, there is a real possibility for solving the problem of unemployment much faster. The second problem is that these investments were directed to a smaller number of projects requiring a large amount of capital, such as investments in the electrical industry or in coal-powered production of electricity, which we have in Kosovo; Trepca is here with its capacities, as well as other, more significant ones, such as the Ibar-Lepenac system, which will create possibilities for much greater utilization of the agricultural potential of Kosovo. These systems are important

not only for Kosovo's development, but also for that of our entire country. Consequently, a large amount of money is being invested, but the number of jobs being created is relatively small. It is exactly this problem which is so pressing in Kosovo, the need for providing new jobs, the need to solve quickly the problem of unemployment, which is greater here than anywhere else in Yugoslavia.

One additional phenomenon has accompanied the development in this period. Because of the strong and dynamic development of industry and the economy above all in city centers, because of the development and expansion of the network of educational institutions and the creation of opportunities for the education of the young, the migration from the village to the city has been very pronounced. The number of young people who sought their prospects over a period of many years primarily in the city, in education, and in the social sector has been enormous. This process has not been followed in an adequate manner with the imposition of tertiary activities, the small business sector and a number of other possibilities which would have certainly provided a greater level of employment. The problem of unemployment is pronounced in the whole country, but here there are some slight differences. You know, in Kosovo the average number of people in a family is over six, so that this aspect makes the problem of unemployment much greater.

#### The Funds Give, the Laws Take Away

It is fortunate that now we are near the end of the great capital investment, such as the investments in Hrnjik, as in the second phase of the Kosovo power stations, etc. In addition, we also have an agreement at the federation level that no more will be invested in this type of project from the resources of the Fund For Developing Underdeveloped Areas. Anyone who needs electric energy must associate their resources for its production. We must utilize the possibilities which we have in agriculture and in the development of tertiary activities, the small business sector, and in accordance with what we can do to change gradually the consciousness of young people who express themselves with attacks on the faculty and employment in the social sector. The possibilities we have, as well as those of the country, are not those which can be used to satisfy the desires of everyone.

SL: The Fund For Underdeveloped Areas is often mentioned as being a great help in construction in areas which lag in economic development. However, the opinion also exists which maintains that some laws, such as the Law Concerning the Stimulation of the Export of Technology, Concerning Price Controls, etc., help the developed areas and hinder the underdeveloped. What do you think about this?

Azem Vilasi: You see, this problem of the relations of the developed and the undeveloped is a problem of the whole world, a problem of our country, a problem, if you will, of individual regions and areas, republics and provinces, it is a universal problem. We do not claim that we have solved it better than anyone else in the world. However, if the basic system solutions are examined--I refer primarily here to the Law Concerning Associated Labor--the basic relations have been well established. The Law Concerning Associated Labor makes it possible, by means of associating labor and resources, for developed and undeveloped areas to realize their economic interests in a reciprocal manner. Consequently, if one proceeds from these system solutions, then one can no longer speak about the extraction of revenue from the undeveloped for the sake of the developed in our country.

I remember in 1979 when Comrade Tito said that no one has become rich from raw materials. The problem is how to find the best solution and the best opportunities for all of Yugoslavia to utilize the raw materials from those areas where they have them, because no one has the right to put his hand on these materials and say: "These are ours, they will stay here!" Now the fact is that associated labor goes primarily into those investments which mean the utilization of raw materials, but which also provide for greater employment in Kosovo, with the establishment of the type of associated resources and revenue relations which are based on the Law Concerning Associated Labor--the basic relations have been well established. The Law Concerning Associated Labor makes it possible, by means of associating labor and resources, for developed and undeveloped areas to realize their economic interests in a reciprocal manner. Consequently, if one proceeds from these system solutions, then one can no longer speak about the extraction of revenue from the undeveloped for the sake of the developed in our country.

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In spite of this, there is the possibility that some laws and system solutions have not set things up in the proper way. Problems then appear here, as, for example, in the foreign currency market. Thus, we have come to the point where Organizations of Associated Labor in republics and provinces manage foreign currencies among themselves.

SL: How has it come to the point that the origin of these economic problems is interpreted, by one group of people, as the unequal relation between province and republic, or why have some people adopted the slogan "Make Kosovo a republic," thinking that republic status will solve everything?

Azem Vllasi: Whenever we have come to a difficult situation, have been confronted with some unresolved problems, certain reactionary forces have used this to develop various slogans calculated to catch the ear of a certain number of people, mainly those uninformed about what is actually going on. During demonstrations around here they were throwing out the slogan "Trepca works, Belgrade shirks!" The basic line and platform of this hostile action in Kosovo was nationalistic, chauvinistic, and most of all, anti-Serb. And that is why they did not succeed with "Trepca works, Belgrade shirks." Everybody knows that we no longer have the type of centralistic system in the area of economic relations in which revenue pours into Belgrade just because it is a metropolis. There is, indeed, in Kosovo as in all of Yugoslavia, an abundance of revenue, but not through this system. In this instance there are only slogans. When, at the beginning of the demonstration we attempted to explain some things, I said to them, "Good, tell me with at least three sentences how it is that revenue flows from Trepca to Belgrade." No one knew anything to say to this, except for those who were the

loudest, who stubbornly repeated: "We know that it flows and no one has anything to explain to us." They did not have arguments, but they created psychological pressure.

#### There Is no Great Purse

Another question comes up in this current of nationalistic force: Why is this republic or province more developed than this one or that one? etc. Why is Slovenia more developed than Kosovo? When they pose this type of question, they have before themselves the idea that somewhere above this country, in some place up in the air, hangs a great purse, and now you determine where, direct to whom, say that here is the place to build. They neglect and disregard those factors and elements which are connected to every environment. These are problems from the past—it is where they started, it is how they started, it is where certain mistakes and failures took place at an earlier time, etc. In principle, we have legally oriented policy for the rapid development of undeveloped areas. We say definitely that the sooner these areas are developed, the better it will be for those areas already developed.

In addition to all this, two things must be realized. First, we have system solutions, mutually agreed upon, which have as a goal the stimulation of the rapid development of undeveloped areas, such as Kosovo, and this is to be done through a solidarity of effort with the help of different types of stimulating measures. Second, we must rely on the utilization of internal potentials and possibilities in each environment, in this case, in Kosovo. We must better utilize those capacities which exist here, better organize labor, increase productivity. No one can justify their lack of development by a lack of desire of others to help when existing capacities are being used from 60 to 70 percent. Today, the situation in the market is such that it is difficult for a certain product to exist which cannot be disposed of by sale, especially not those which are in a structure of the Kosovo economy.

SL: You have said that informing the working people has been on the agenda, but usually it is said that where we do not act is where the enemy acts. What do you think about the responsibility of the subjective forces, the LCY, the SSO [Socialist Youth League] and the SAWPY for the situation which has arisen?

Azem Vilasi: When all of this happened, it was evident to what extent the subjective forces were caught napping, were incautious, unorganized, to what extent we lived under the illusion that nothing could happen to us. Now it is obvious how, over an extended period of time, in various ways, nationalism took root. This was stated also in the platform which was adopted at the 22d Plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY. It was known to us as well that the enemy of this system had not ceased working against our country from wartime to the present day. Now we see that there are also other factors in question here which must not be neglected: political emigration to the West, the governing structure in Albania which supports very intensively and stubbornly the nationalistic and irredentist forces. But nevertheless, the basic problem was, and remains, our internal one, and the guarantee of lasting stabilization in Kosovo depends on the degree of our organization, the speed with which we extract ourselves from the state of ideological, political, organizational and working incapability that we

find ourselves in. In the last 10 years, the number of members of the LCY in Kosovo has more than doubled. And this tells of the liberalized line, the political line which has evaluated all results through quantity. Now we see who we all have in the LCY. In the struggle for consolidation of the situation, in the process of political differentiation, we have problems with a certain number of members of the LCY; it is rather apparent that they have gone astray in the party, or that we have allowed them to be where there is no place for them.

#### Every Line is Read

And, you know, there are those among them who have entered the party in order to work against it. This was a political line with many failures. In the first part of the plan, their policies were high, polished; favorable, positive evaluations were always given, there was always pride with how the number of members of the LCY had grown. And responsible comrades closed their eyes to the fact that along with all these positive trends, one which was negative was also growing--that of nationalism. And the political workings were burdened with different negative phenomena. Connections, acquaintances create discontent with people, because, you know, business is clearly necessary to everyone. People would patiently wait for something to be decided if a certain order existed. And in this way an atmosphere of uncertainty was created because no one is hired overnight, no one waits for years.

SL: Many charges exist as to the objectivity of the means of public information. Meetings have been written about in great detail in which differentiation was discussed, meetings which the writer did not even attend. And the emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrin population has been written about in a one-sided manner. Positive examples of returns to Kosovo are not cited.

Azem Vllasi: First, let me tell you something you know better than I do, since you are engaged in this profession. The power of the news media in creating wide-spread opinion is unbelievably great. In these sensitive situations, when the masses are politicized, the function of the information media is twofold, threefold greater and more important. Hardly ever in the postwar period have we had the type of situation in Kosovo that we have now. Every line which is written about this matter is read with attention, it is commented on, interpreted.

SL: Perhaps this is because it has not been written about before.

Azem Vllasi: Quite possibly. Our public has been insufficiently informed about Kosovo. It is good that after the March events the information and explanation process concerning the events in Kosovo began in a detailed and broad manner. Because any shortage of information from Kosovo in this situation would have created confusion and made the situation even more serious for the public. I would like to say that for the most part, objective and correct articles were prevalent from Macedonia to Slovenia, but there was also disappointing and pretentious writing and informing, a false stating of the theme and the problem. You have mentioned here a problem in connection with emigration which really exists. Economic migrations, migrations motivated by social problems, they exist now and always will. However, in Kosovo, we are confronted with a situation which is created by the activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, which

objectively exerts pressure on other peoples and nationalities, because the nature of any nationalistic movement is in exerting this pressure on others, not wanting to see others near you, demonstrating intolerance to others, etc. The result of this situation is the present tendency and the problem of Serb and Montenegrin emigration. I am certain that it would help a great deal if something different were written about this problem, something more politically oriented. Sometimes you read certain articles in the press, but you cannot confine Albanian nationalism, the Albanian people. This creates a serious impression, above all with Serbs and Montenegrins.

Because, if you want it from the psychological and political point of view, Serbs and Montenegrins cannot reconcile the fact that only a certain newspaper, a certain editorial staff, or a certain functionary from the ranks of the Serbian people places them under protection. It inspires much greater confidence for them when we Albanians talk about this, when we stress that we are interested in preventing these tendencies because they are not in the interests of the Albanian people. That is why it is not accurate to create the impression in the public that the whole Albanian population is culpable. Because then it is remembered in history that this people exerted pressure on the other, and not that the pressure was exerted by reactionary forces from the numbers of that people. Other examples also exist in the press which irritate honest people and create nervousness. You see, in some papers and editorials, practically everything which is connected to the Albanian people is brought to question. Books, history, culture, and everything else are the heritage of this party and of this society, whereupon the fourth plenum gave their statement with the bureaucratic and dogmatic ideas of Rankovic. You know how it is, how this irritates honest people; I am not talking about nationalism, because this is part of his theses which read: "We are not equal, the Serbs and others oppress us." And this was at the fourth plenum, which the Albanian people acknowledge as the confirmation of the correct orientation of this party, as the line which provides real equality, freedom, prosperity, freedom from pressure, dogmatism, unitarianism, etc.

#### Penalties: There Might Have Been Mistakes

We are confronted with Albanian nationalism and irredentism which was demonstrated in this most brutal form, the form of counterrevolution. We must defeat this nationalism with all of our resources. But no one can say, now it is on the agenda, how we will conduct a battle against it, and when we win this struggle, we will look around us to see if there are other nationalisms. Other nationalisms do exist. They are present and they are supported, but, of course, they do not appear in the same form. However, no nationalism has as its furthest goal the halfway point. Every one proceeds to the end, and this end is counterrevolution. We had this type of situation in 1971, we will always have it if we begin to relate to it as if one is more dangerous and the other is more benevolent. There is no more effective struggle against nationalism than the one in which everyone fights in his own environment, in his own way, which does not exclude the struggle of communism in other nations. This, then, is our mutual struggle, the struggle of all communists in Yugoslavia.

SL: Much is being said and written about the level of punishment, especially for young people who took part in the demonstrations. How much does such strict punishment do in an instructive manner, or does it even create opponents to the

system and 'heroes'? Do you not think that these punishments in any case were excessive?

Azem Vilasi: In your question is expressed a common opinion which is prevalent now. You can quite often encounter the question of whether these were excessive penalties, are these the real criminals, why were easier penalties passed for those who were in leading positions? When we proceed from such concrete facts, it is necessary to emphasize the following: first, at no level in the Province did there exist a political position which said to proceed in a harsher or in a lighter manner. Our courts are independent. I think that on the whole they judged honestly, they tried to establish the actual guilt of everyone, that is, by all the facts, and they did not judge on the basis of negotiation. People were tried who were caught directly in the act, those who were proved over a longer or shorter period of time to be involved in illegal, organized activities. Confusion was created in the public by the fact that very meager explanations were provided from the trial. In the reports, you saw that someone was sentenced to 4 years because he wrote out a slogan. This is notorious nonsense and everyone with any sense must be disgusted by it. As you know, these penalties range from 1 year to 15 years. But there could have been mistakes.

Now there is on the agenda the following instance, the right of complaint, and for everyone about whom mistakes were made it will be necessary to correct them and to rectify the situation. Secondly, the investigating officers are still working on uncovering the main centers from which the whole matter was organized, and after this we can precisely establish who has what degree of criminal responsibility. Political responsibility is something else; it is, for now, measured the way it is. Recently a platform was adopted in the Central Committee of the LCY which will be the basis for carrying out further political and social actions to stabilize the situation in Kosovo, and in this regard if we see that we have not completely finished with determining political responsibility in some places, then this will be supplemented and corrected.

#### Party Functionary at University

Zagreb STUDENTSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 p 11

[Conversation with Prof Rexher Gashi, president of the Action Conference of the Pristina University; at his office, date not given]

[Text] We talked with Prof Rexher Gashi, president of the Action Conference of the Pristina University, about the "state of things" between students and young people, and the professors and scientific workers. We met in the president's office and were informed about matters. Here is what he said...

R. Gashi: I'm very glad that you have come here to talk with us, because it is actually rare that journalists come here to be informed at the source. We have had a number of cases where, on the basis of "heresay," texts have been published in the newspapers, and this hinders us rather than helps us.

We cannot by chance compare the sort of situation we have today with the situation which existed in the third month. From the beginning of November we began to conduct open dialogues with the students. These were inadequate for us, because

because now, in the fall, we found ourselves and the students in the same positions that we had when we took leave after the university closed. We, indeed, worked through the summer on some things, organized discussions in local communities and student clubs, but because we were busy with summer work, we did not have any unusual response. Now we have organized these discussions in order to provide so-called political differentiation in action. Students can pose questions and right then and there can clear up unresolved concepts.

I can tell you that we have already achieved a great deal in this because the interest among the students is great, and there are some provocative questions. It must be said that the students have not been adequately informed about certain problems, as, for example, payment for visits to their homes, or, how much the students should pay and how much society should pay; and in addition, the question of Trepca, Obilic."

SL: Do you have, after these events, enough professors at the university, in view of the fact that recently it has been frequently mentioned that professors from Tirana have taken part in some work at the University?

R. Gashi: Sometimes the information media present data which are not based on fact. And the example of the professors that you mentioned is one of these. At a recent meeting in the Provincial Committee, people were faced with the dilemma as to whether I was presenting the correct data when I spoke about how many professors from Albania were taking part in work, or whether the data published in the BORBA articles was accurate. It was even said that 20 percent of all instruction was being conducted by teachers from Tirana, which, however, is absolutely not true. We did an analysis of how many teachers came from Tirana from 1971 to 1981 and taught at Pristina. The most was 32, and the least, which was last year, was 16. We have about 1,300 subjects, which means that about 2 percent of the subjects were covered by instructors from Tirana.

SL: Recently the claim was made that the process of differentiation is proceeding most slowly in the information media in the province and in the university. Can you say something about this?

R. Gashi: I have already spoken with reporters about that, and this time I will repeat that we cannot run after newspaper articles, and that we put people on trial. The LCY must be, and is, the most advanced and unified organization, and for all members the same status is defined by statute: no one is put up for discussion or on trial without proof. On the basis of the fact that articles appear in the newspapers in the style of "hearsay," we cannot pursue people in order to satisfy someone's ideas. There was, for example, the question of the academician Ali Hadri which permeated the newspapers: Was he a falsifier of history? I said then and I say now that a judgment will be made about his works, but this will be done by historians, from a scientific point of view, and not by me, for example, a nuclear physicist. But Ali Hadri has recently responded to questions which were put to him, in connection with work on the encyclopedia and his other works, in about 60 pages. Because his works are here, we can read them through and then on the basis of analysis form a judgment as to what is and what is not worthwhile, what has been falsified and what is the truth. Concerning all these questions, the duty of the Presidency also exists to form an expert

commission composed of historians and to analyze how much of this work indoctrinated the younger generation, how much of it there was which diverted our youth from the path of the LCY and our self-management socialistic society. But it cannot be a crude evaluation or a witchhunt.

I must say as well, that in all the meetings held up to now in the faculty, there has not been any sort of resistance to the positions of the LCY. After this, every instructor, not only verbally, but in deed, will have to prove by his own examples that he is for this cooperation, and this before the students, because there have been many cases where the instructors did not come out for it. And we must not be deceived that this does not happen nowadays. There will be, however, opportunities for them to proclaim themselves. Not a single case will remain in question.

SL: Have you met with the problem of the remaining nationalistic tendencies as a reaction to the existing situation?

R. Gashi: There was in the very beginning, after these events, a cooling of relations, which was especially pronounced among instructors. The LCY engaged all of its forces to solve the problem and to halt these negative processes. In the beginning, there was a lot of false information, unfortunately, even at the Central Committee level in Serbia. Thus, for example, a professor from our university, Comrade Sveta Stozinic, stated that as many as 120 textbooks in the area of medicine came from Albania, and that they were reviewed by only one instructor; this is technically unfeasible, because think about how much time this would require. The statement about this number of textbooks helped create a negative climate, as well as the suspicion which prevailed at that time. On the other hand, the newspapers sometimes hinder us. I will cite you an example of the College of Chemistry, where the reporter was not even present when a meeting of the local branch of the LCY discussed differentiation. Later an article was published consisting of almost half of a page in the EKSPRES POLITIKA. How could he write about this meeting when he was not present?

SL: What is the objective situation, and what sort of mood prevails among the students after the summer break?

R. Gashi: I can say the following about this. In some study groups we have had, before the beginning of the school year, a lack of clarity, and we have this now. During the next discussions we will influence these people, talk with them to explain certain things to them. If, after this, they remain firm in their viewpoints, and if they become a danger for the surroundings, then we will take other measures. We will not use any sort of force to convince them to change their positions. This, of course, doesn't mean that we will not carry out a struggle for every young person, because we do not have a surplus of young people to hand over to the enemy, as Veli Deva said on one occasion. From that aspect we must do much more, and here a great responsibility falls on the university instructors, since it is here that these counterrevolutionary actions begin.

SL: How much do you agree with the statement that the intelligentsia of Kosovo failed the exam during the spring events?

R. Gashi: The fact is that the Albanian intelligentsia did not oppose Albanian propaganda with their full efforts and responsibility. Now we have signs of organizational opposition. But we must bear in mind one more fact, and that is that the university, after these events, was, in a certain way, removed from the list of the desirable.

First, my predecessor, the president of the Action Conference, was not invited to a single meeting, either at the province level, or the opstina level. This was prejudice toward the university. Now it is a completely different situation, and we work closely together with all structures in the opstinas and the province. We are actively engaged in the stabilization of the situation in the colleges. In every school, we work together with the students through 14 different problem areas, for example, those concerning cadre policy, cooperation with other universities, especially with the University in Tirana, etc.

SL: In what manner, in your opinion, is the indoctrination of young people predominantly carried out?

R. Gashi: The greatest influence is through television and radio, and up to a month ago, this influence was very intensive. Disregarding the poverty of the Albanian people for propaganda, enormous resources are expended. In this way, they act in a very negative way on the students and stimulate counterrevolutionary acts. After the demonstrations they expanded even more the misinformation and propaganda; for example, they said that we have a thousand casualties--people killed, mistreated, etc. This cannot influence intelligent people, but the uneducated it can. Because of this, it was necessary to counter the expansion of this misinformation and these lies."

9548

CSO: 2800/186

**SERBO-CROATIAN PAPER IN KOSOVO REPORTS ON SITUATION**

[Editorial Report] In discussing the student structure at Pristina University, the 15 January 1982 issue of JEDINSTVO (Pristina, page 8) reports that last year for the first time in the history of the university student enrollment in courses given in Serbo-Croatian declined; namely, from the planned 1,708 full-time students to 1,573, of whom 117 were of Albanian nationality; it said a large number of new first-year students had gone to other universities and a number of students had moved from Kosovo. First-year enrollment for courses given in Albanian was planned at 6,872 but 7,326 had actually enrolled for full-time study. Fewer students than planned had enrolled for part-time study in both languages. Total enrollment for the first year of study was 13,624, although 13,775 students were planned. This is a 21-percent reduction compared to the previous year. There were fewer students enrolling from outside the province, also; "thus, Pristina University has become quite enclosed within the borders of Kosovo which is not good for an advanced school." Last year 62 percent of all first-year full-time students were enrolled in the natural science-mathematics, bio-medical, technical and agricultural science departments.

The 18 January 1982 issue of the same paper (page 3) reported a party shake-up in Kosovska Kamenica Opstina where Radomir Trajkovic, president of the opstina LC conference was ousted and a recommendation made to the opstina assembly to expel the assembly president, Sejdi Berisa, and president of the opstina executive council, Tomislav Jovanovic. A final warning was given to Hasan Kovanij with the recommendation that he be removed from the Kosovo Provincial Council. They were accused of bureaucratic conduct and tendencies toward personal influence and dominance.

The same issue (on page 8) reported that the "targets of attacks by bullies are often women and helpless persons." Desanka Manjevic (50 years old) from Pec was beaten, and Vojin Mijovic (70 years old) from the village of Kalavaja in Decani Opstina is recovering from serious injuries in the Pec hospital, as is the 1941 Partisan veteran Ramo Tahiraj whose attackers, Adem Skender and Musakija Kurtaj, were sentenced to 60 days according to the 26 January issue of JEDINSTVO (page 8).

Milutin Polic, secretary of the Kosovo provincial council of SUBNOR, the veterans association, said at a meeting reported in the 27 January issue (pages 1, 2) that enemy actions are merely described but the wrongdoers are

not identified; "ineffective identification and the failure to punish those who are producing insecurity among the non-Albanian population have shaken [the people's] trust in certain organs of government."

The 28 January issue (page 9) reports that stories are circulating in Titovo Mitrovica that groups of gypsies are kidnapping children and selling them in Italy. "SUP organs are on the trail of groups carrying on such actions which are causing unrest among the citizens of Titova Mitrovica."

An item in the 30 January issue (page 5) notes that in Orahovac Opstina physical attacks by Albanian nationalists have been directed not only against Serbs but also against other Albanians.

According to the 20 January 1982 issue (page 2), 221 Serbian and Montenegrin families with about 880 members, as well as 700 Croatian families (in Janjevo), moved out of Lipljan Opstina between 1971 and 1981. In the last 5 years a total of 1,085 persons had moved from this opstina, and it was said that the number of Croatian families was far larger than 700. Compared to 10 years ago, 29 percent more Albanians live in the opstina (namely, 33,105), but only half as many Serbs (who now number 10,297), Montenegrins (355), and others (largely, Croatian, 5,480). It was also officially reported that 18 families of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality left because of direct pressure, including damage to farms, woods, provocations, and physical assaults on individuals and families. Since April 1981, 109 families have moved, an additional 43 families have recently been granted permission to move, while the cases of another 10 families who want to move are being examined. At the "Goles" mine in Magura 102 million dinars were granted for rehabilitating and building housing last year. "But it is very strange that only Albanian miners, namely, 38, received such credits, although miners of other nationalities were also on the list.... A particular problem is still the slow economic growth and minimal employment opportunities."

The 25 January 1982 issue of this paper (page 8) reported that last year there were 49 large fires and 150 small fires in Prizren Opstina which caused over 25 million dinars in damage. The fire in the Prizren city department store destroyed 20 million dinars worth of goods, while that at the Prizren railroad station, destroyed over 5 million dinars worth of goods imported for the "Balkan" enterprise in Suva Reka.

CSO: 2800/231

FRANC SETINC DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF SYSTEM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Franc Setinc: "Unity Through Differentiation"]

[Text] During the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress, many issues were brought up that are of vital significance for further development and construction of the system of socialist self-management. They were brought up now because during the period between the two congresses not enough work was done on straightening out and transforming society. Let us start at the beginning, however. When Kardelj wrote in "Directions of Development"...that further practical and ideological-political development of our system is necessary and that further development and working out of the system is a vital issue if we want to avoid stagnation in the development of self-management and a gradual suspension of it," he certainly meant by this, first of all, that the LCY has created the general concept of the development of socialist-self-management, but that it is still responsible, with all of its personnel, for affirming this project.

There Have Been too many Repetitions but Little Development and True Struggle

The LCY cannot shift this responsibility to the worker, who is declared in this project to be responsible for his own welfare, although in fact this is not yet the case, not because the worker would not want this, but rather because of many limiting factors, not only objective ones but subjective ones as well, even those within the LCY itself.

I feel that the LCY has reason to pose itself the question of whether it has drawn up a project for its renewal and adaptation to essential changes in society, and how it is carrying out this project. It has to work out its role, position, and method of work in an ideological-political and practical manner. Has this been done? In my opinion, there have been too many repetitions of what was already written at the 11th and other LCY congresses, but there has not been any real ideological-theoretical and practical development, or at least there has not been enough of it!

In such a situation, the LCY should draw certain conclusions. I do not mean by this that it should liquidate itself, as our enemies would wish, but it must take steps to make it a true internal force for the cohesion of society. People acknowledge it has historically the highest authority, but it can be the highest authority only if it moves things forward and if it fights to have this project

come alive in practice. The way in which the LCY acts within the political system so as to accelerate the development of socioeconomic relations on the basis of the social ownership of property and socialist self-management is of crucial importance, as well as what the LCY does to get the entire delegate system to begin to act as a factor linking the individual parts of associated labor.

Within society there are strong technocratic and bureaucratic tendencies, which naturally act as a factor for the disintegration of society, or in combination with this, as a strong factor for etatist centralization. These are not any sort of imagined tendencies, but rather those tendencies are strongly protected by a group-property or state monopoly rooted in the past. These forces become even stronger if socialist self-management relations are poorly developed and thus poorly protected by the social ownership of property, which still does not have sufficiently deep roots either in the broader social consciousness or in practical relations.

This is why the way in which these institutions work is of crucial importance, especially the way in which the LCY works within these institutions in order to support positive processes and strengthen social property relations, so that the worker can more easily protect his position and disrupt technocratic and bureaucratic tendencies, especially the property monopoly through which these forces protect themselves.

#### The LCY and Partial Interests

One frequently hears the question of whether partial interests are predominant in some parts of the LCY. I would even say that in some party circles a pluralism of partial interests and dictation by narrow party groups of activists are predominant.

We say in regard to our society that the freedom to express partial interests is not enough by itself, but that we must struggle to harmonize these partial interests and extract the common general interest from them.

One should take into account and analyze partial interests, but also struggle against their distortion or misinterpretation, and have the ability to rise above them in order for us to be able to democratically establish our common interests and see the prospects for further progress. A necessary condition for this is that the LCY should be capable of such a creative synthesis, and really possess a critical awareness of the working class and the working people, because partial interests must not be dominant in the party, in its practice and its documents.

For a long time in Yugoslavia, however, some leaderships have often represented egotistical partial interests, in which there is not enough differentiation, and there is not enough of an ideological struggle to raise this critical awareness to a higher level, in order to increase the party's ability to conduct a battle within the pluralism of self-management relations. Unity in views and action, in fact, can be attained only through creativity and in a democratic manner, and not at all through monologues or even directives that are not part of the process of the creative struggle of views and searches for new and better solutions, not part of a relationship of mutual trust and respect for the force of arguments, perceptions, and evidence derived from practice.

## An Ideological Battle Is Necessary for the Realization of Positions

I refer again to Comrade Kardelj, who said that congressional resolutions and other documents do not represent anything if they "hang in the air" and if there is no productive communication within the LCY and society. But what is this productive communication, and what kind of communication and working methods will make it possible to fulfill the LCY's guiding role under the conditions of socialist self-management? Which are the obsolete (one-way) communications and working methods (commands) that mean a negation of socialist self-managing democracy?

It seems to me that our resolutions may be well written and there may be no criticisms of them, but they may again not have any practical value. Some positions of the 11th LCY Congress for the most part remained only on paper, because they were not followed by an ideological battle, because there was not any productive communication within the LCY and society, and so that they could not be realized. An ideological battle is necessary for the realization of positions; differentiation is necessary, not in the sense of dividing our ranks but rather in the sense of creating unity on the basis of conscious awareness and confidence. We do not need any sort of ideal unity, but rather the unity that is created through the struggle of opinions, with a great creative effort, criticism, self-criticism, resignations, trust or distrust, etc. If we organize ourselves this way in the LCY, then we will get rid of the taboos and of everything negative that we have today in the LCY and that sometimes makes us more a party than a league.

Also appropriate is the question of whether we have created a true atmosphere for such a struggle of opinions and whether we have organized a real discussion, for example, of the true causes of the events in Kosovo. I think that this is limited to attempts or to isolated cases. In my opinion, the real cause of the events in Kosovo--which Comrade Suvar has also written about--consists of the deep gulf between the bureaucratic-technocratic forces and the masses. We who believe this, however, are accused of underestimating the enemy and emphasizing inconsequential matters. I would say that it is precisely those who speak like this who are underestimating the hostile forces, because it is just under the conditions of the existence of such a gulf that the enemy can rely on the masses who are not allowed by the bureaucratic-technocratic forces to strengthen their presence and their role in society through socialist self-managing democracy. And everyone knows how the bureaucratic forces chase after the enemy, in a situation when they should be in the prisoner's dock themselves.

## The Main Problem Is not the Enemy, but Our Ability or Inability

Comrade Kardelj writes that the enemy is not our main problem. The main thing is our ability or inability to organize ourselves, to settle things, to surmount and resolve the contradictions that have been mentioned, and, above all, to defeat the enemy this way. But we did not analyze the problems and contradictions in Kosovo in time; we did not do this because there were also such problems and contradictions in other areas. The problems in other areas did not have the same consequences as in Kosovo, but they may have, and we are still analyzing and resolving these problems very slowly.

The question arises of why there has not been a real discussion of this in the LCY.

First of all I should say something about the issue of quantity and quality in the LCY. I think that we have had an inflationary increase in the number of LCY members, and that the quality of these has not been adequately increased along with the quantity. The opposite has occurred, and we have opened the door to a multitude of partial interests, but we have not sufficiently developed ideological differentiation; there has not been enough of a struggle of opinions, and our conclusions and documents have frequently emerged without productive communication, differentiation, ideological analysis, and the maturation of ideas in the struggle of opinions, and even personnel selection. It is known, however, that only through such serious creative work in the LCY can real personnel selection and better personnel be achieved.

When Mahmut Bakali was in Slovenia once, in analyzing his impressions, he said that he was afraid that in the areas he visited the percentage of LCY members was too low and that he did not know how this critical conscience of the working class would cope with problems if it remained like that. I told Bakali that I was surprised that he had emphasized the percentage question--although I do not think that this was the ideal solution for the area he visited--but had not asked how the political activity of the working people was going, what the political activity within the Socialist Alliance was like, and within the trade union, etc., and in general, what political work in these areas was like.

It was apparently like this in Kosovo; the question of what people's consciousness was like was not always considered, and instead the question of how large the percentage of LCY members was seemed more important. We also encounter similar views in certain other areas. It seems that it is not yet clear to some comrades that a socialist self-managing society cannot be built and people's socioeconomic position cannot be strengthened if we reduce revolutionary attitude and social consciousness to the percentage of LCY members. It can be done only if we equip the Socialist Alliance well and if we also involve nonparty members, that is the majority of working people, in the construction of our socialist relations.

#### The Workers Majority Is not a Statistical Issue

There is likewise enough of the workers' majority in our papers. The workers' majority is discussed, but it is frequently linked with certain bureaucratic-structural criteria. Naturally I am in favor of having as many workers as possible in the LCY but I wonder whether the workers themselves contribute a critical consciousness and whether the workers' majority in the LCY means that just as a result of this they will have a more favorable socioeconomic position in society. It is well known that certain countries have made very serious distortions in socialism in the name of the workers' majority. Is it necessary to view the workers' majority in terms of the mobilization and restoration of the workers' majority in order for them--mutually linked in associated labor and in society--to be responsible themselves for their fate and the creators of their own future?

Also present in the preparations for the elections are arbitrary bureaucratic-structural criteria: very often both the age and sex of the candidate or delegate are determined in advance. And then we complain that the young people are keeping silent. But when, let us say, the young people discuss the burning social problems and present a problem a little "too narrowly," then we immediately say, "How is it that they are discussing this, since they do not understand certain postulates of

socialist society?" And thus a barrier is immediately put in front of them, while at the same time we want--or at least we say so in all of our publications--to stimulate young people to have a revolutionary attitude.

I also think that there are more socially involved women than we are able to include in our structures in accordance with these mechanical criteria. But we do not find them because we are looking for them in the forums, and in the forums, in these narrow frameworks, we often do not find the kind of people we are looking for.

#### The LCY Is a Single Whole

In many publications, it is concluded that the basic LCY organization should be a sociopolitical subject in its surroundings. I will call attention again to one of Comrade Kardelj's views when we were speaking about how to overcome the particularism of GORENJE and ISKRA, which had joint business but could not overcome this particularism. Kardelj said: "Don't have any illusions that within a single organization the LCY can rise above these ordinary partial interests in all situations." The LCY organization within a single SOUR [complex organization of associated labor] is not absolutely independent; it is a component of the whole of the LCY. If an LCY organization somewhere is not sufficiently strong as a cohesive and integrating force, than a critical conscience coming from the municipal organization or even from the LCY Central Committee must intervene. It cannot be said, however, that this is outside interference, because the LCY is a single whole.

The fragmented economy does not now have sufficiently strong integration processes, and the organizations of associated labor are shutting themselves off within their boundaries, but we are scolding the communists in these firms for not having the strength to rise above this, and we are waiting. I think that in such a situation there must be an intervention by other forces within the LCY, and even by the central committees and other social forces, especially science. Naturally, I mean intervention in the sense of initiatives and penetrations by new creative ideas and actions.

We must discuss all of these issues openly, because otherwise we will not find a solution. We must create a sound foundation for this struggle, in order for us to grapple with the technobureaucratic structures and tendencies that are penetrating our leaderships, even at the highest levels.

The battle for the constitutional concept of society can and must be won first of all in the LCY in order for it to be won then in society as a whole. We no longer need slogans and oaths just for principles; we need everyday efforts and results in all aspects of our lives, in our relations and our work, especially in associated labor, its mutual linkage and integration. It is only through such continual work that the LCY can authenticate and fulfill its leading role, and it is only in this way that an answer can be given to the question of how far the rule of the working class has come.

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ZAGREB PUBLISHING FIGURE INTERVIEWED ON PRESS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1617, 27 Dec 81  
pp 24-26

[Interview with Marinko Gruic, chairman of the Business Board of Vjesnik and a member of the Croatian LC Central Committee, by Aleksandar Nvacic: "Better the Bitter Truth Than a Sweet-Tasting Lie"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Is it more difficult in journalism or in politics? Journalism is a more concrete and direct job, and the responsibility is more direct. But believe me that that other is not easy either, especially if a man wants to work conscientiously. Being a professional in politics, by God, gives a man headaches."

Marinko Gruic, chairman of the Business Board of the Vjesnik SOUR [Complex Organization of Associated Labor] and member of the Croatian LC Central Committee, has shifted back and forth between journalism and professional political work several times in his life. For a long time he was a youth leader, and then he practiced journalism from 1953 to 1966, and then again from 1974 until the present. In the intervals he was secretary of the Zagreb City Committee, he was elected four times to the Central Committee, he was a deputy in the Assembly, and so on.

The firm which he heads today employs 4,700 people and in recent years has experienced considerable progress, and this has been manifested even in a very rapid growth of circulation. The circulation of just three dailies published by this firm (VJESNIK, VECERNJI LIST and SPORTSKE NOVOSTI) have a total circulation of 546,000 copies, while in 1968, say, their circulation was 270,000. Though Vjesnik's stands also have 26 other publications of this firm every day, nearly 72 percent of the total circulation consists of daily newspapers, which is indicative of reader interest.

[Question] The immediate occasion for this interview was the discussion of the press which has been taking place in Yugoslavia in recent months.

Against Dumping Problems Onto the Press

[Answer] It is my impression that recently--even sometimes in interviews much like this one--we tend to separate the problems of information and of newspapers

too much from the overall context of social transformations. Somehow they are beginning to be regarded as a sphere in themselves, and then there is discussion about democracy or the lack of it, public scrutiny or the lack of it, assessments are made, liberalism, dogmatism, and so on. The range of discussions concerning information and newspapers like it or not is thereby treated to some extent separately and is unjustifiably detached from the broader social context (Marinko Gruic says).

[Question] And how in your opinion should the discussion of the press be conducted?

[Answer] In my opinion, the debate about newspapers ought to be put back on its natural track, we ought to see to what extent information and newspapers operate as an integral part of our self-managing and political system, to what extent they are a factor toward social transformation, are they stimulating processes, or are they holding them back. Otherwise we cannot arrive at the right assessment, since every meditation about the newspapers that is detached from the social context leads us to certain extremes. Incidentally, these blanket black-and-white judgments, these labels of various kinds, have often been a consequence of our lifting information out of the overall context of the fight for social transformations.

[Question] When you referred to the difficulty of work in journalism you also said that today marks a delicate moment in domestic and foreign politics. Some conclude from that observation that a more restrictive approach should be taken to information, information should be dosed out, while others feel that it is precisely in such a situation that the public should be informed to the utmost.

[Answer] I say that the more complicated and difficult the situation, the more completely, truthfully, authentically and rapidly the workingman ought to be informed. There is a saying to the effect that whoever controls the information also controls society, and it is our aspiration that the workingman controls society and its development. Consequently, he must control information. I would recall that in the most delicate and complicated situations, when the destiny of the revolution and of our common homeland was at stake (in 1948 or in Croatia in 1971 and so on) our public has been the most fully informed about the true state of affairs.

I am convinced that the most complete possible information is necessary for true revolutionary action and that except for the most elementary government secrets and certain ethical principles nothing must be concealed from the public. All else leads us to a position of secretiveness.

[Question] Which is precisely where the problems begin.

[Answer] I am resolutely opposed to having the problems and headaches that exist dumped onto the press, so that a substitution is made of the principals, and the press is regarded as a kind of whipping boy on whom responsibility and blame can always be dumped at the suitable moment.

[Question] You in fact spoke about that at a recent meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee?

[Answer] I spoke about that, because I think that if we are communists, we must tell the truth, but not over someone else's back. I have the impression that it is easier to give the press and newspapers a slap in the face, to portray it as a perpetual culprit and to burden it with what has to be said to someone else. We avoid the latter for various tactical, opportunistic or other reasons. I think that this is not proper.

By which I do not mean to defend the newspapers or Vjesnik's publications. Not by any means. I feel that in the press, including, of course, the publications of Vjesnik SOUR, one can find superficiality, serious oversights, inroads of petty bourgeois attitudes and reflections of liberalism, and sometimes even outright stupidities. And we who work on newspapers and other factors in society must be specific and precise in analyzing the situation and decisive--without pardon or amnesty for anyone--in dealing with errors and possible deviations. But at the same time I am a resolute opponent of generalization and of blanket judgments which find everything to be black in the newspapers, and I am especially fierce in opposing the breaking of rods over the backs of newsmen and the press when actually others are principally to blame. We should take the consequences when we have erred and where we are at fault. Incidentally, is it not true that we from the newspapers often call out the names of others and call them to account. We therefore must be equally prepared to assume our own responsibility.

#### Who Is Upsetting the Public?

[Question] It is sometimes said that so-called "negative" pieces of news upset the public.

[Answer] Better a bitter truth, than a sweet-tasting lie. The truth is our strongest weapon. Concealment of information is socially and politically harmful and makes the workingman distrustful. Journalism and information represent an essential part of the system, but not outside of or above the system. Journalism is not some seventh force, nor is it a partner of sociopolitical organizations and self-management bodies; that is, neither is it an arbiter nor a conscience. But it is not a transmission belt either, nor a whipping boy, a perpetual culprit and so on. Certainly, it is rather difficult and problematical today to work on a newspaper. We are going deeper with the process of democratization of life, and we consider it altogether natural that this pluralism of interests in self-management is articulated in democratic terms. However, this is not always easy, nor is it a simple matter to find the right measure.

[Question] Is that differing nature of interests in self-management sufficiently present in our press?

[Answer] I do not get to see all the press, but I must say that it seems to me that we are not yet open enough.

[Question] What is the reason for that?

[Answer] Well, I would say that there are several of them. On the one hand there is the fear that additional problems and headaches might be created over those differences, that the public might be upset. I think that it is always better for the public not only to be informed, but also to be involved in resolving those differences. After all, problems always arise when someone tries to resolve something in the public's absence. Sometimes we reserve these differences, if I can so put it, for some sort of coordinating bodies, committees and the like. All this does is create new problems. To go further, I think that some people, however strongly they have declared themselves in favor of a pluralism of interests in self-management, have a habit of acknowledging that pluralism only so long as it coincides with their views.

Do not forget that aside from interests in self-management, we also have interests that do not conform to self-management. In other words, there are certain class forces operating from the opposite position, that is, there is also a class struggle.

[Question] Sometimes what you refer to as interests opposed to self-management also find expression in the press. Insofar as those ideas are embodied by hostile or oppositionist forces, it is relatively easy for the newsman to engage in a public confrontation. The case becomes more difficult when such ideas come from some official forum.

[Answer] I have no illusions about a portion of interests of that kind being able to penetrate even our structures. But at the same time I think that none of us can be amnestied and that a certain remnant of the past is still squatting somewhere in everyone of us. However, that is not how I would put the question: It seems to imply that an interest opposed to self-management is coming from government or political structures, and the press is put in the position of defender.

[Question] Let me be more specific. The most recent example of Kosovo confirms that the political leadership in the province was operating from positions which may be called even antiworker positions.

[Answer] I would counter with another question: Were there any newspapers operating in that way? Is it not true that they were furthering that kind of behavior? What I mean is that I would not make a mechanical division between politics and the government on the one hand and the newspapers on the other. The basic point of departure in differentiation ought to be who is fighting for social transformation and who is holding it back. A more thorough analysis would certainly show that there are militant fighters and also those who are holding us back in politics, in the government administration, among professional managers, and also among newsmen.

#### Critical in Attitude, Even to the Point of Receiving Scars

[Question] Sometimes that vigorous attitude elicits resistance and a failure to comprehend.

[Answer] I agree. The press must take a critical position, but it must state its views in depth and back them up with evidence. Certain problems may still arise in spite of that, since no one likes to be criticized. It is the revolutionary duty of newsmen to take a critical attitude, but to back it up with evidence, even at the price of receiving a few scars. I can say this from my own experience.

Journalism and the newspapers are a vigorous and independent factor within the framework of the system, and we must be aware that we share in the responsibility for the state and development of society, rather than thinking that we are "someone outside." We have made our contribution to that state, and I think it is impermissible for someone at this point to set himself up as an arbiter from the peak of Olympus.

[Question] An analysis which has been made in VJESNIK showed that the newspaper is more concerned with forums than with the real problems of the working people. This might be stated as a general criticism of Yugoslav journalism.

[Answer] Our analyses have confirmed what we had taken notice of even previously. Take, say, the way the newspapers follow the trade unions. One finds something almost like a pyramid turned upside down. Approximately 15 to 20 percent of the articles have to do with the basic organizations, and 80 percent with forums....

[Question] Are the newsmen responsible for this, or perhaps some "upside down pyramid" exists in real life? What I mean to say is that perhaps this and certain other organizations are too top-heavy in the way they operate.

[Answer] There is a fair amount of truth in that, but it is not altogether true. We on the newspapers must also reassess our own orientation self-critically and make a change of direction in a certain sense. It cannot be denied that interesting discussions have been conducted and important decisions made in worker caucuses and in workers' councils. But please look at our newspapers; how much is being written about that.

[Question] Can you be more specific?

[Answer] I believe that I am not restrictive toward the publishing of certain articles which might arouse various comments and views, provided, of course, that they are not hostile in character. But recently it seems to me that we have been publishing a great of subject matter in the newspapers, perhaps even too much, which takes us back to topics of the past, sometimes even with certain unacceptable overtones and tendencies.

Some people, economists for example, offer certain concepts in their articles which society has gone beyond. Or certain positions taken in an article by Comrade Tempo, whom it is easier for me to mention, since I esteem Comrade Vukmanovic as a distinguished revolutionary, which I think are not socially acceptable, and individuals are attempting to "take further" certain of his positions and use them, if not abuse them, for their own problematical purposes.

All of us who participate in the process of information must nevertheless ask ourselves whether what is being published promotes progress or exerts a backward pull, whether we are broadening, intensifying and deepening certain possible vacillations in society, or are we becoming part of the effort to find ways out and solutions. I emphasize, I am not in favor of any sort of embellishment or false monolithism; I am really in favor of maximum openness, public scrutiny and above all full truthfulness of the news.

[Question] Is it not true that sometimes unrealistic demands are put on newspapermen?

[Answer] Sometimes, yes. In listening to some people it seems to me that news-men and editors are supposed to have answers even for those questions which so-ciety and the League of Communists are not yet able to respond to. I have said on one occasion that it is unrealistic and unnatural to expect of editorial staffs, which include members of the LCY and those who are not, to attain a higher degree of ideological and political unity than is achieved in certain party leadership groups at the top level. After all, if we expect that, then the editorial staffs will be "omniscient teams," and there will be a real danger of their emerging as some sort of arbiters and of rising above the League of Commu-nists and other sociopolitical and self-management structures. On pressures, telephoning and taboo topics....

[Question] Recently, quite a bit has been said about the press in political forums at the federal level. It has been said that there are both dogmatic and liberalistic manifestations here.

[Answer] I repeat that the press and newspapers should be evaluated and treated in the context of the total transformation of society. As for these extremes, I think that they do exist in society as well, so it is normal in a way for them to penetrate even the newspapers. The basic problem for me is not whether that exists or not, but the attitude we take toward such manifestations, if they do ex-ist. Do we comment on them, do we confront them, or do we remain passive.

[Question] A judgment has also been rendered concerning pressures on the news-papers. Do you personally feel this?

[Answer] I think that the public has a distorted conception to the effect that there are some sort of strong pressures, a lot of telephoning and the like. There are certain real pressures. But I think that there is less and less of that conventional pressure over the telephone, requests and the like, at least as far as I feel it myself.

[Question] And finally a question about your firm's new weekly political newspa-per which has been announced several times.

[Answer] The pains and headache involved are beyond anything I expected. At one point we closed down VUS [VJESNIK U SRIJEDU]. Actually, it died of itself. Both in terms of circulation and economically and in terms of influence. And at that point we had already made the decision to go ahead with a new weekly. At the be-ginning we fell short over the question of staff. Not so much over the question

of whether we have the staff or not; I say that we do have, but not many people wanted to take responsibility for a paper like that. Later, we did shape the team, we established the nucleus. Then difficulties arose over space, since we have filled up Vjesnik's skyscraper, and things have become cramped. Then we also solved that. We also foresaw 2 billion old dinars of funds as an intervention, which would have been a grant for this newspaper as a new product. In the first round 15 organizations of associated labor voted "for" in a referendum, and 4 were against. In the second round all were "for." Now there is a difficult situation with paper, but we have nevertheless decided to start at the beginning of next February. Our political weekly will probably be called DANAS.

[Question] We wish you success!

[Answer] Thank you very much. It will certainly bring new headaches as well....

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